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ABSTRACT

The quarter annual reports about "Sesame Street" from the Children's Television Workshop (CTW) from 1969 through 1975 were analyzed for evidence that criticism in the periodical literature had influenced the programming and decision making policies of CTW during that time, as well as the audiences involved. Significant evidence that audiences other than children affected changes in programming was not found; the quarter annual reports failed to identify such critical reactions for correlation with programming and policy decisions. Appendices include the citations of the reports and the 187 books and articles analyzed in this study. (CMV)

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AUDIENCE INFLUENCE ON THE PROGRAMMING
OF SESAME STREET
FROM 1969 THROUGH 1975

by

Patricia May Poggi

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Dissertation Committee:

Professor Phil C. Lange, Chairman
Professor William E. Hug

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Curriculum and Teaching
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1978

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ABSTRACT

AUDIENCE INFLUENCE ON THE PROGRAMMING OF SESAME STREET FROM 1969 THROUGH 1975

Patricia May Poggi

This study did three things: (1) It indexed the Quarter Annual Reports written by Children's Television Workshop to the United States Office of Education about Sesame Street from 1969 through 1975. (2) It analyzed these Quarter Annual Reports for evidence that criticism in periodical literature--pro and con--had influenced the programming and decision making policies of the Children's Television Workshop during that time. (3) It then analyzed the criticisms in periodic literature for the audiences that were involved, both as writers of and recipients of that criticism.

Since Children's Television Workshop, the producers of Sesame Street, uses a systems approach operational model that utilizes children's feedback to influence its programming, it was hypothesized that other audience groups would also generate critical feedback that would influence programming and policy decisions. It was also hypothesized that the Quarter Annual Reports, which are the official vehicles of accountability to the major sponsor, the United States Office of Education, would identify such critical reactions and correlation of them

with programming and policy decisions could be made. These hypotheses were not supported by the findings of this study.

The appendices include (1) the index, both subject listing and proper name listing, for the Quarter Annual Reports from 1969 through 1975, and (2) the list of one hundred eighty-seven books and articles analyzed for audience criticism with their coding for year of publication, staff affiliation of the writer, audience category of the writer, theme category, medium of publication, target reading audience, whether the article was primary research, secondary research, or opinion, attitude of the author, and whether the author's name, or the magazine in which the article appeared, if the article was not bylined, was listed in any Quarter Annual Report.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank some of the many people whose assistance and encouragement have been essential for the successful completion of this research.

I would like to thank Fred and Eileen Maulucci, Dr. Alice Nadelman, and all my other friends for their prayers and reassurance. Another thank you is due Marcia Valdatta, who is not only a fine typist, but a fine friend.

I am grateful to my advisor, Professor William Hug, who gave me the original idea for the research. Professor Phil Lange, my sponsor, whose generous giving of his time, energies, and expertise to so many students is so well known, deserves more thanks than words can convey.

My wonderful children, Peter, Patrick, Paul and Matthew, and my dear husband Peter have sacrificed, supported and sustained me throughout the effort. They have been unfailingly confident and cooperative. I thank God.

P.M.P.

Research rarely goes smoothly, and even when it does, it seems to take forever. Published reports look neat and logical, but what goes on in reality is messy and confused--a series of crablike moves, each selected through the researcher's faith that it may push him a small step ahead.

Gerald S. Lesser
page 135 in Children and Television

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CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSES, RATIONALE, AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This chapter explains the purpose for this study and its research questions. It reviews the rationale and need for this study, describes the themes of criticism, and the categories of audience critics of the Sesame Street program. Briefly it explains the procedures by which the Quarter Annual Reports for Sesame Street and the periodic literature about Sesame Street were analyzed.

Purposes of the Study

This study examines the extent to which critical feedback from the audiences of Sesame Street, as revealed in periodic literature, has influenced the programming policy-making decisions of Sesame Street from 1969 through 1975, as revealed in the official Quarter Annual Reports of Sesame Street.

Thus this study analyzes the criticisms in the periodic literature on the one hand, and looks to see if awareness of that criticism is evident in the Quarter Annual Reports, and whether the awareness seemingly influenced policy making. In the course of this analysis the researcher has indexed Sesame Street Quarter Annual Reports, as shown in Appendix F.

The primary data for this study are the official Quarter Annual Reports prepared by The Children's Television Workshop for the United States Office of Education from 1969 through 1975 and selected journal entries during the same time frame. If the Quarter Annual Report mentioned a critic, the critical article, or the criticized theme, it was considered critical feedback. The study also uses Lesser's Children and Television (a report written by Lesser of the Children's Television Workshop staff) as a basis for the initial study and its bibliographic references and identification of critics.

Evidence of programming changes resulting from audience criticism was sought in the Quarter Annual Reports to the United States Office of Education. Also, analyses were made of magazine articles written by Children's Television Workshop staff that might include responses or rebuttals to criticism of Sesame Street.

Research Questions

At the outset of this study, this researcher hypothesized that the Quarter Annual Reports would explicitly identify Children's Television Workshop's awareness of public or audience criticisms and would relate such criticism to the justification for its continuation or changes in programming.

As the Quarter Annual Reports were indexed and analyzed, it became evident that the audience criticism was seldom, if ever, identified. It seemed important, therefore, to search for relations between the content of Sesame Street criticism in the periodic literature and in the content of the Quarter Annual Reports.

The following is the list of questions to which answers were sought in examining the Quarter Annual Reports and the periodic literature written about Sesame Street and the Children's Television Workshop from 1968 through 1975.

Regarding the Quarter Annual Reports, the research questions were:

1. In what ways did the Quarter Annual Reports change?

2. What programming changes were mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports?

3. Did the Quarter Annual Reports reflect awareness to critics and criticism?

Relating to the periodic literature, the research questions were:

1. What categories of the audience wrote articles concerning Sesame Street?

2. What was being criticized; in other words, what were the themes of criticism?

3. What types of publications printed the articles about Sesame Street?

4. What categories of audience were the target audiences for the critical articles on Sesame Street?

5. What type of article--a research report, a report about research, or an opinionated article--was written?

6. What were the general attitudes of the articles?

Examining the relationship of the critics to the Quarter Annual Reports, the following question was asked:

What authors were specifically mentioned in any of the Quarter Annual Reports, and if the author was not bylined, was the periodical mentioned in which the article was printed?

Rationale for the Study

Sesame Street and Its Critics

Although Sesame Street was first produced in 1969, it had already been reviewed in the newspapers and magazines. From 1968 through 1970, Readers' Guide listed thirteen articles. Between 1970 and 1972, thirty-one articles were listed. Sesame Street sustained a great deal of attention, but by 1973 to 1975, the number of articles listed in the Readers' Guide had dropped back to ten. Therefore, studying the changes between 1968 through 1975 encompassed most of the criticism concerning Sesame Street as well as providing a bit of a time lag for perspective.

Sesame Street, since its first program in 1969, has probably been the most controversial and commented upon children's educational program in history. It used to be said that everyone considers himself an authority in education and therefore can criticize any aspect of it. How much more so for television!

> During the show's first week on the air, Look ran a four-page descriptive article about it. Newsweek devoted four pages in June, 1970, an analysis and evaluation of the project. In November, 1970, Time made 'Sesame Street' the cover story.... and The New York Times Magazine in May, 1970, gave extensive coverage to the Workshop in an article entitled, 'Report Card on Sesame Street.'[1]

Sesame Street was created in 1968 to respond to the need for pre-school learning experiences for American children, especially the urban disadvantaged poor. Between six and seven million children and many adults watch Sesame Street, which derives most of its millions of dollars in financial support from government funding, primarily through the United States Office of Education, and also through the Office of Child Development. The United States Office of Education requires formal accountability, and one of its primary vehicles of communication is the Quarter Annual Report.

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[1] Richard M. Polsky, "The Children's Television Workshop: 1966-1968" (Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973), p. 1.

Children's Television Workshop, producer of Sesame Street, is not only accountable to Americans through its contractual stipulations with the government, but it is also obligated to respond to its audience because of its organizational commitment to a systematic model.[1] In any systems model, the feedback mechanism is of utmost importance and criticism is a part of feedback, its significance to democratic education is widely accepted. Joyce says of communication media:

> The arrangement of media (including television) functions within a communication system which provides tasks, feedback, and substantive information in a pattern which permits instruction to be regulated according to learner performance and motivation.[2]

Indeed, both Joan Ganz Cooney and Dr. Edward Palmer, President and Director of Research, respectively, for Children's Television Workshop, have stated many times that, along with utilizing in-house scientific research, they welcome and respond to criticism in the production of Sesame Street. The importance of the feedback loop and accountability has been fully accepted by the government, educational specialists, and Children's Television Workshop. Thus far no research has focused upon defining the types and extent of feedback which influence the programming of Sesame Street. This should be reflected in a primary source of communication, the United States Office of Education Quarter Annual Reports, responses and rebuttals to articles in magazines and professional journals and the programming changes made in Sesame Street as recalled by some of the members of the staff of Children's Television Workshop.

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[1] Children's Television Workshop further maintains in its statement of goals that Sesame Street is produced in accordance with "A comprehensive plan . . . to insure that the content of the program series does embody the educational goals of the Workshop in a manner that is both rational and appropriate for the instruction of young children."

[2] Bruce Joyce, "Model for an Alternative Approach to Curriculum Development," School Media Quarterly 4; 4 (Summer 1976): p. 221.

Pervasiveness of Television

Over 112,100,000 television sets--one for every two people--were turned on for five to seven hours per day in 1975 in the United States.[1] Television's potential impact on the American way of life is pervasive and overwhelming in so many areas! For example, Marshall McLuhan states that, "TV has changed our sense-lives and our mental processes. . . all knowledge has become the normal popular demand since TV."[2]

Since World War II, the Fourth Revolution, that of mass communications has indeed affected most people in our society. Educational institutions are becoming increasingly aware that their curricula are in changing relationship to other socializing institutions. In 1970 it was said that:

---

[1] The 1976 World Book Encyclopedia Yearbook (Chicago: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, 1976).

[2] Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York: New American Library, 1964), p. 289.

> In the last twenty years, there has been a revolution in the way most boys and girls--and their parents--occupy themselves. The average high school student, by the time he graduates, has spent about 11,000 hours in school and 15,000 hours watching television.[1]

The Need For Research On the Role of the Audience in Television

R. Bruce McKay, in his 1976 dissertation entitled, "The CBC and the Public: Management Decision Making in the English Television Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1970-1974," stated that one of the main reasons little is known concerning the extent to which the public influences decision making in the television industry is "principally because of severe access and disclosure problems."[2] In the present study, this is not a problem.

Impact of Television On the Audience

The influence of television on the audience has been a very debated topic discussed by numerous people representing various political, artistic, philosophical, and intellectual orientations.

To address the nation's concern about televised programming for children, the Congress of the United States requested the Surgeon General to establish the Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior to study the relationship between violence in programming and the attitudes and behavior of children. The Surgeon General's reports[1] and other experiments have documented empirically areas in which measurable changes of behavior resulting from television viewing can be proved.

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[1] New York Times, March 4, 1970, p. 28.

[2] R. Bruce McKay, "The CBC and the Public: Management Decision Making in the English Television Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1970-1974," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976).

Organizations such as Action for Children's Television and the national PTA organization have utilized these findings in their findings in their efforts to expound on the influence of television on children.[2]

Rivers and Schramm[3] and other social scientists have studied the audiences of educational television for the National Educational Television and Radio Center.

Behavioral scientists, such as Bandura, have conducted numerous experiments investigating to what types of modeling behavior children respond.[4] Bandura has concluded that children can and do learn behavior from television; they actively respond.

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[1] U. S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior; Reports and Papers. Edited by George A. Comstock, Eli A. Rubinstein, and John P. Murray (Rockville, Maryland), 1971.

[2] Action for Children's Television, Brief I, Guidelines for Children's Television, April 29, 1970, before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C., p. 2.

[3] William L. Rivers and Wilber Schramm, Responsibility In Mass Communications (New York: Harper and Row, 1969)

[4] Albert Bandura, "The Role of Modeling Processes in Personality Development," in Willard W. Hartup and Nancy Smothergill, The Young Child (Washington, D. C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1967), pp. 42-57.

Television had impacted on people. However, whether the converse is true was also important and was the reason for this research.

The Need For Research On Mass Audiences

Audiences conventionally have been defined as the receivers of communications, and in the case of mass communications, the users of mass media. The state of sociological research on the attributes of mass audiences is in the stage of becoming. Wright, in his discussions about mass audiences urges more research in this area. He says:

> Scientific research on communications effects, despite some recent massive efforts, remains far too scarce and the results of research are too inconclusive to provide the information needed for definitive answers to the socially pressing questions.[1]

and again, he says:

> The absence of definitive research on the social effects of mass communication and the presence of public (sometimes national) concern over the issues involved make the need for additional sociological research especially pressing.[2] [Underlining mine]

Mendelsohn identifies the role of mass communication in the United States with the concept of reciprocity between "the governing and the governed."[3] He believes that the part audiences play in mass communications has been overlooked by those people who consider the effects of television only one way. He believes that most of the laboratory experiments lacked adequate rationale, controls, and sampling. They have resulted in data which are non-transferable and non-applicable in meaning. Mendelsohn says that, "Before social research can serve to undergird over-all mass communication policy a considerably greater functionally oriented effort is required."[1] Pragmatic study of the present role of audience is needed. As Mendelsohn further states:

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[1] Charles R. Wright, Mass Communications (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 140.

[2] Ibid., p. 141.

[3] Harold Mendelsohn, "Behaviorism, Functionalism, and Mass Communications Policy," Public Opinion Quarterly 38; 3 (Fall 1974): p. 383.

> Current social research on the policy aspects of mass communications can, at best, point to specific wants and expectations of particular audiences that the mass media have either overlooked or neglected, such as women, preschool children, Chicanos, blue-collar workers, and the elderly. Working with mass communications practitioners, functionally minded social researchers can be extremely useful in generating new, exciting, and functional mass communication modes.[2]

Clearly, it is impractical for the government, interested lobbying groups, or individuals to prescribe policy-making decision standards concerning television without first researching the reality of the wants and roles of the audience.

Need For Research On Role of Audience in Decision-making

The citizen's group, Action for Children's Television, petitioned the Federal Communications Commission in 1970 that:

> Despite the national commitment to children and the fact that the medium has an enormous capacity to benefit children, television has never been used to serve the needs of children to any significant extent. It has functioned almost solely as a means of exploiting them.[3]

Further testimony stated that, "ACT believes that a broadcaster who is required to present children's programming without commercials will place less emphasis on ratings and more on public approval."[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 388.

[3] Action for Children's Television, Brief I, Guidelines for Children's Television, April 29, 1970, before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C., p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

Including the audience in the decision-making process is not only assumed as a right by groups, it is mandated by the federal government to its agencies and "has been reinforced by statutes and administrative directives that call for public input as agencies make plans to use the resources they steward."[1]

Stankey states:

> Involving the public in decision making reflects resource-agency commitment to its clients, but good intentions are not enough. . . . The issues and questions outlined above demand immediate and urgent attention. We urge our colleagues to focus the collective conceptual and methodological skills of the various social sciences on applied questions regarding public involvement.[2]

Feedback Loop In the Decision-Making Process

Concomitant with the growth in research in mass communications, educational television, and content analysis, has been the emphasis on system analysis, of which the feedback loop is considered the most vital part.

Mendelsohn, mentioned previously in the rationale, discussed the need to relate research to evaluation and decision making in studying educational television. He felt that the development of a viable model for media related decision making is crucial.

Toomb stressed the interpersonal aspects of the feedback loop. His model is client centered, so that it is especially consistent with the stated goals of Children's Television Workshop.[3]

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[1] George H. Stankey, John C. Hendee, and Robert N. Clark, "Applied Social Research Can Improve Public Participation," Rural Sociology 40; 170.1 (1975): p. 67.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

[3] Kevin Toomb, "A Systems Model for Assessment and Diffusion," (Chicago: International Communication Association), April 1975.

Laswell has been expounding on the uses of content analysis since before World War I. In "Communications Research and Public Policy,"[1] he synthesizes decision-making, systems approach, and content analysis and concludes that such an approach will increase the level of professionalism in the field of communication, so that public policy will be serviceable to citizens.

Content Analysis In the Study of Mass Communications--Especially Educational Television

In selecting an appropriate methodology for the data to be analyzed, books on criticism were perused. Walter Sutton's Modern American Criticism[2] and Frye's Anatomy of Criticism[3] are excellent books for the critical analysis of literature, but are not applicable to the letters of criticism or the Quarter Annual Reports.

Likewise, although Palmer, in Hermeneutics; Interpretation Theory In Schleiermuncher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Godamer, states that hermeneutics is "the study of understanding texts,"[4] his method of studying symbolic interpretation did not seem to be compatible with this dissertation.

---

[1] Harold D. Laswell, "Communications Research and Public Policy," Public Opinion Quarterly 36; 3 (Fall 1972): pp. 301-310.

[2] Walter Sutton, Modern American Criticism (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

[3] Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism; Four Essays (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[4] Richard E. Palmer, Hermeneutics; Interpretation Theory In Schleiermuncher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Godamer (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969).

Content analysis, as previously mentioned, has been employed in the study of communication. In surveying the literature related to the development and the use of content analysis in the field of mass communications, particularly educational television, four pertinent books were read:[1]

1. Berelson, Bernard, Content Analysis in Communications Research (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1971). This book is a duplication of Berelson's 1952 book. In this book, Berelson discusses the uses of content and analysis, its categories, technical problems, and mentions numerous studies.

2. Carney, Thomas F., Content Analysis (Canada: University of Manitoba, 1972).

3. Gerbner, George et al., The Analysis of Communication Content (New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969). This book is a collection of readings dealing with various aspects and points of view about content analysis.

4. Holsti, Ole R., Content Analysis For the Social Sciences and Humanities (Manila, The Phillippines: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969). This book discusses many problems in designing content analysis research.

Berelson's emphasis on themes and trends was the most influential in developing research questions and categories for this research.

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[1] One impertinent book, the sole book cataloged in the Dutchess Community College library under the subject heading of content analysis, entitled The B. S. Factor: The Theory and Technique of Faking It In America, by Arthur Herzog (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), was also read. Herzog's book is fun and debunks propagandistic writing, but was not too helpful in developing a methodology for the research problem.

The Research Design

The Data Sources

Children's Television Workshop staff cooperated in the design of this present study, including the framing of the research questions, page 3. The research design of this study was discussed at a meeting at Children's Television Workshop headquarters with Dr. Edward Palmer, Vice President for Research, Mr. Robert Davidson, Director of Broadcast Relations, Ms. Amy Miller, research intern, Professors Hug and Lange, the sponsors of this dissertation, and this researcher.

It was determined that although the staff of Children's Television Workshop felt that Children's Television Workshop was responsive to criticism in letters, telephone calls, personal conversations, and articles in print, there had been no systematic study of such criticism. It was decided that the sources of criticism of Children's Television Workshop fall into two categories: direct criticism in the form of telephone calls and letters, and indirect criticism in the form of articles in newspapers, magazines, and professional journals.

It was agreed that direct criticism would not be the focus of this present study, although Children's Television Workshop receives numerous telephone calls daily and a great amount of written correspondence. Correspondence addressed to Children's Television Workshop averages between six thousand and seven thousand letters per eighteen-month period, according to Stewart Awbrey, Director of Public Information Services. Two-thirds of these letters pertain to Sesame Street; the remaining one-third refer to Electric Company. Four out of five letters to Sesame Street are categorized as fan mail and queries.

The remaining letters are regarded as in the "subjective" category, and these letters which comment or criticize are isolated, tabulated, and the report of any pattern is reported in order to reinforce or alter programming. At this point, these letters come under the jurisdiction of Dr. Edward Palmer's Office of Research.[1]

It was decided to do a preliminary survey of written correspondence to determine tentative themes of criticism. For this purpose, it was decided that a student intern from Swarthmore College, Ms. Amy Miller, would read and categorize these letters of protest. From their memory of their reading, the staff identified the following as likely themes of criticism of letters and telephone calls: (1) fear, including monsters and fantasy; (2) physical safety, including zero population growth;[2](3) minority groups, including twins; (4) grammar, language; (5) feminism; (6) ecology; (7) nutrition; (8) bilingualism.

These criticisms were recalled as being mainly protest against either an overemphasis or inadequate treatment. There was no further attempt to have Ms. Miller's research of direct criticism parallel the research and analysis of the indirect criticism in the periodicals or the Quarter Annual Reports. Thus, the eventual themes of criticism categorized in this study differ somewhat from those that came from the staff's memory of the correspondence read.

Although newspaper articles are a rich source for indirect criticism, and although Children's Television Workshop has a clipping file service, it was decided that the file was not necessarily complete nor adequately organized and accessible for research. Thus, newspaper articles were not included in this present study.

---

[1] Information received at the March 8, 1977 meeting at Children's Television Workshop.

[2] In 1972, protesters wrote seven letters to Children's Television Workshop against a song sung in a segment of Sesame Street concerning five member families.

The two remaining sources of data were analyzed: the professional articles (a source of indirect criticism) about Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop, and the Quarter Annual Report to the United States Office of Education (a source for direct reaction to criticism).

Procedures for Collecting and Analyzing the Data

The Nine Categories

The total of 187 articles were analyzed on the basis of nine categories as follows:

1. Year of Publication: The year of publication, rather than the year about which the article was written.

2. Staff Affiliation: Whether the writer of the article is or is not affiliated with Children's Television Workshop.

3. Audience Category of the Writer: Author of the article typifies a particular audience, such as teacher or sponsor, or general media critic, or pressure group.

4. Theme Category: The main topic of the article, such as social change, television as an educational force, etc.

5. Medium: Whether the article was published in a popular magazine, a specialized magazine, or as an unpublished manuscript, thesis, etc.

6. Target Reading Audience: To what category the article was directed.

7. Research or Opinion: Whether the article reported initial research, second-hand research, or the author's opinion.

8. Positive, Negative, or Neutral Attitude: Whether the general tone of the article was supportive, non-supportive, or ambivalent about *Sesame Street*.

9. Mentioned or Not Mentioned in the Quarter Annual Report to the United States Office of Education: Whether the author's name, or the name of the magazine if the author was not bylined, was mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports.

Procedural Steps

As explained in more detail in Chapter II, the procedure for analysis followed these steps:

- Assured the availability of all the Quarter Annual Reports which were written between 1969 and 1975.
- Indexed the Quarter Annual Reports and noted policy changes.
- Compiled a bibliography of all communications written about *Sesame Street* or Children's Television Workshop since its inception in 1968 through 1976.
- Analyzed all the articles which would be obtained by December 15, 1977 according to the nine categories listed above.
- Analyzed the articles and the Quarter Annual Reports for evidence of audience influence.

Availability of the Quarter Annual Reports

Children's Television Workshop made available for analysis its entire set of Quarter Annual Reports from 1969 through 1975. These are listed in Appendix E.

Most of the Quarter Annual Reports between 1969 and 1975 were in the possession of the Instructional Technology Department, Teachers College, previous to their inclusion in the Archives. Of the four that were missing, Children's Television Workshop was able to supply three. The fourth, Volume X, January 1972 - March 1972, was not available from Children's Television Workshop, nor was it part of the records of the United States Office of Education, according to Dr. Clarence Fogelstrom.

Indexing the Quarter Annual Reports

All Quarter Annual Reports, because they are a formal means of communication with the principal funding source, United States Office of Education, were indexed according to the guidelines employed by McGraw Hill Book Company, which are based upon the widely accepted University of Chicago's, A Manual of Style.[1] In order to facilitate references to the reports, and in order to correlate categories of the audience with mention in these reports, indexing was a necessary intermediate methodological operation. The volume numbers assigned to the Quarter Annual Reports are shown in Appendix E; the indices themselves comprise Appendix F.

Searching the Periodic Literature

As will be explained in more detail in the explanation of the methodology of research, in this study, periodic literature refers to the two hundred thirty-six articles that can be found in Appendix A, which has 73, Appendix B, which has 114, and Appendix C which has 49.

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[1] University of Chicago Press, A Manual of Style, 12th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

One part of the periodic literature that has been given special attention is that literature which was written by staff members of Children's Television Workshop, which comprise Appendix A. In addition, two books authored by Children's Television Workshop staff were analyzed: Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television: Lessons From Sesame Street, New York: Random House, 1972; and Richard M. Polsky, Getting to Sesame Street: Origins of the Children's Television Workshop, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Palo Alto, California: Program on Communications and Society, May 15, 1974.

Thus books were considered, but so inclusive that general thrust only was noted. The book analyses were used for comparison with periodic literature.

Analysis of Periodic Literature

The periodic literature was to be subjected to analysis both for the themes of criticism and for the category of audience that was the source of criticism. The justification for themes of criticism and the audience categories became refined as the analyses of articles and Quarter Annual Reports developed, and in accordance with the research questions on page 3. As explained on page 27 under definitions, there were six themes (one of which had three sub-categories): 1) social change, 2) the disadvantaged, 3) the handicapped, 4) ethnic and women's representation, 5) television as an educational force (which included 5a) general discussion of television's impact or descriptions of the cast, settings, and special guests of Sesame

Street; 5b) affective objectives; 5c) cognitive objectives, and 6) production techniques.

Results of Analysis of Periodic Literature

It was expected, after charting the analytical findings on charting paper and noting these results on each biographical card, that both sequential and categorical changes would become apparent. Thus, answers to the research questions on page 3 could be ascertained. The results and findings are reported in Chapter III.

Definitions

The analysis of the Quarter Annual Reports made to the United States Office of Education and of the articles about Sesame Street required that the definitions for the various categories be carefully developed prior to the analysis of the written materials and that the definitions proved to be usable in its analysis. For example, it was necessary to differentiate among the possible audience categories. Obviously a primary target audience for the viewing of Sesame Street would be young children. Also the Sesame Street Magazine would include young children as a target reading audience. However, in the articles that were analyzed for the present study, children did not write any articles; therefore, they did not appear among the audience category of writers. Similarly, in the articles no one actually aimed their writing to that early childhood audience of readers. Yet because there was the possibility that a very young child could have been an author in the audience category-author, or the primary target audience-reader, it was deemed necessary to use such a category throughout the analysis. The definitions for audience categories (both as readers or responsive authors) for themes, medium of publication, and the concept of criticism as feedback in communication were all developed from discussions with Children's Television Workshop staff and from preliminary analysis of the data.

Since an article could be classified according to the reading audience for whom it was intended (target audience-reader) and according to the type of audience whom the writer represented (audience category-author), it was necessary to define these categories in some detail.

Audience Categories

The audience of mass communications is pluralistic, comprised of various individuals and groups. Different people and organizations wield different authority and power to influence programming.

The target audience for Sesame Street is comprised primarily of pre-schoolers, especially the urban disadvantaged poor. It has been estimated that between six and seven million out of the potential fourteen million American pre-schoolers watch Sesame Street. However, many other children, adults, and groups watch this program for a variety of reasons, alone or with others.

The following are the various audience categories that functioned to distinguish different classifications of people and groups who comprise the Sesame Street audience. They are considered exclusive and, as a cluster, comprise the whole universe of categories of the audience.

These categories apply both to the audience category-author and target audience-readers, hereafter called audience category and target audience.

The functional categories that were applicable in this study are as follows:

- B-Individual adults
  - B1-General audience, nonprofessional adults
  - B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians
  - B4-General media critics
  - B5-Educational media specialists
  - B6-Educational specialists, researchers
  - B7-Station masters, directors
- C-Sponsors and Agencies
- E-Special Interest Groups
  - E2-Women
  - E3-Handicapped
  - E4-Blacks
  - E5-Spanish-speaking
- F-National professional or educational groups

When applying categories to the communications, it was found that B2-audience category, babysitting, actually had no practical application, and it was subsumed under the more inclusive B1-general, nonprofessional adults. This fact was not ascertained early in the analysis, therefore, this category remains. It was later discovered that other audience categories also were insignificant in that critics did not emerge from them, nor were they targets of articles. C1 and C2 were originally divided into subsets. Because of the few articles involved, however, it was decided to omit the subsets.

Interestingly, E1 had no application, although Dr. Palmer and Mr. Davidson had mentioned the necessity of such a category based upon their memories of letters of protest. These categories became more refined as the researcher assigned inexplicit examples to a certain category.

The code letter and definition for each of the audience categories are the following:

A. Children

A1. Preschoolers

Selected preschoolers are used by Children's Television Workshop to test potential program material. Schramm's research indicated that, although adults could make educated guesses concerning content of interest to older children, adults really don't know what children prefer.[1] The responses of this group of selected preschoolers is referred to in Children's Television Workshop publications as well as reports published by Educational Testing Service.

Preschoolers are the target audience, but for the most part are pre-literate and thus can be only a secondary source of criticism. Letters to the Muppets, poems to Big Bird, cookies for Cookie Monster, etc., have been received from ardent young admirers; however, responses from this young category is dependent upon the cooperation of an older person because they must be mediated by adults.

Structured preschool groups, whether nursery school, day care centers, or like organizations, sometimes view Sesame Street as a group. Primary or neighborhood groups, children from the same apartment building, block, or neighborhoods sometimes watch Sesame Street together. Criticism from any of these subgroups was classified as emanating from the preschool category.

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[1] Wilber Schramm, The Impact of Educational Television (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 195.

A2. Siblings

Siblings, sometimes younger or older than the target population, watch Sesame Street along with the preschooler and have introduced him or her to Sesame Street. Sometimes they watch the program for their own reasons.

B. Individual Adults

B1. Members of the children's home, mothers, grandmothers, aunts, fathers, grandfathers, uncles, who sometimes watch Sesame Street or react to the children's responses to Sesame Street, comprise this category. Volunteers, even those who had participated in training courses are included, as are representatives of the general public such as the United States Congress. B1, therefore, refers to the general audience--the audience which is being addressed as nonprofessionally trained adults.

B2. Babysitters in the home who have expressed views about Sesame Street are considered in the adult category.

B3. Day care workers, library employees, teachers, and principals constitute a distinct group of adults who through their occupations are personally interested in children.

B4. General media critics, especially television critics, sociologists, historians, or philosophers who see themselves as having an investment in television and their roles of critiquing may have views on Sesame Street, and may be the target audience for criticism.

B5. Educational media specialists have accepted television as a viable vehicle for educating, yet may have important critical input concerning Sesame Street in particular, and may be an important target audience for criticism.

B6. Educational specialists may be for or against television in general, and for or against Sesame Street for different or like reasons. Researchers, whether from educational institutions, foundations, or Children's Television Workshop, help to comprise this category. Professors at colleges or universities or under contract with other organizations are included.

B7. Station masters and directors in local television stations are important linkages in the communication network and may be filtering agents for criticism.

C. Sponsors and Agencies

Committees or groups of people banding together for additional interest, power, and support are forces in the critiquing of Sesame Street, and they have rationales of their own.

C1. Sponsoring Agencies

Sponsoring agencies, such as the United States Office of Education (C1a) and the Office of Child Development (C1b) are the primary funders for Children's Television Workshop. The sponsors may be the originators of criticism as well as the target audience for criticism.

C2. American foundations have been very instrumental in the organization of Children's Television Workshop and are considered sponsors. Three such corporations are:

C2a. The Carnegie Corporation

C2b. The Markle Foundation

C2c. The Ford Foundation

These organizations all felt that the goals of Children's Television Workshop were consistent with their own.

D. The National Advisory Council

This group is comprised of experts in the field who advise the producers of Sesame Street on production techniques, content, etc. The members are contacted separately when their area of expertise is pertinent, but they also meet as a committee regularly. The minutes to these meetings are recorded, and, although not relevant for the current study, these communications could be a means of researching influential input and its effect on programming change.

E. Special Interest Groups

Pressure groups, such as homosexuals (E1), women (E2), and the handicapped (E3) impart special sensitivity in criticism to Children's Television Workshop's policies of programming content and production.

Ethnic groups, notably Blacks (E4), representatives of the three major Spanish-speaking communities (E5), and American Indians (E6) constitute special interest groups in regard to the programming content of Sesame Street.

F. National Professional or Educational Groups

Some groups are expressly formed as watchdogs for television. Action for Children's Television is such a group. Organizations like the PTA, which is a group of loosely bound local affiliates, had in 1977, concentrated as a unifying theme on the impact of television on the behavior and attitudes of children. Unlike ACT, PTA has other interests but has prioritized its involvement with television and its relationship to children's education.

Other groups such as the National Educational Association were also included in this category designation.

The audience categories defined in the preceding pages were used in two ways: first, the author of every communication was assigned to a category; second, the target audience of each communication was assigned to a category.

Themes in Criticism

For the purpose of this study the criticisms of Sesame Street have been classified under six categories: social change, the disadvantaged, ethnic minorities, television as an educational force, and production techniques, and are delineated as follows:

1. Social Change

Some of the critics complained that Sesame Street does not deal with or alleviate some of the problems basic to American society. For example, Sesame Street does nothing, they say, to care for those members of its audience that might be hungry and cold; it does not address inequality in economic distribution. Although Children's Television Workshop's goals, as stated in Lesser's Children and Television[1] denied dealing with such questions from the beginning, a few critics continued to discuss these questions concerning American society in relation to Sesame Street. Therefore, this category was necessary. Fantasy and the unrealistic portrayal of society in any aspect is included in this designation.

2. The Disadvantaged

The disadvantaged, the economically poor urban children, were part of the original target audience, but were considered by some critics to be the primary target audience. The eradication of the educational gap separating the social classes was never a goal of Children's Television Workshop, according to Gerald Lesser.[1] Yet, many critics referred to this concern. Reference to the rural disadvantaged was a later occurrence, and this category includes this subpopulation.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 175-186.

3. Handicapped

The handicapped and their special educational needs were a subpopulation of the target population.

4. Ethnic Minorities

Ethnic minorities, especially Spanish-speaking preschoolers were from the beginning identifiable. Bilingualism and biculturalism and women's liberation groups are included in this category.

5. Television as an Educational Force

5a. Articles which generally discuss television as a means of educating children, and cite Sesame Street as an example, comprise this category. Also, communications which generally describe the cast, the setting, or the special guests on Sesame Street, and cannot be assigned to the other categories are included.

5b. The affective domain and the ability of Sesame Street to convey affective objectives are the themes of some communications.

5c. The cognitive domain is the subject of communications written about Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop.

6. Production Techniques

Production techniques encompass those communications dealing with attention, eye-movement studies, distribution of Sesame Street, and instructional product development.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 186-187.

Medium of Publication

What type of periodical or publication used to convey the indirect criticism was considered important in that different publications come to the attention of distinct audiences. Thus, the types of publication, the media, were categorized as follows: P-popular magazine; S-specialized periodical; T-eclectic.

P refers to those popularly known magazines which can be purchased in store magazine racks or at newstands or can be received via subscriptions. These are:

Atlantic Monthly
Ebony
Look
Nation
New Republic
New York Times Magazine
Newsweek
Psychology Today
Reader's Digest
Saturday Review
Time
Today's Health
Vogue

S refers to those specialized periodicals which are usually available through subscription. Many are the publications of learned and professional societies. Periodicals designated in the S category are:

Advertising Age
American Education
American Educational Research Journal
American School Board Journal
AV Communication Review
Child Development
Childhood Education
Clearing House
Contemporary Psychology
Contemporary Sociology
Educational Broadcasting Review
Educational Leadership
Educational Technology
Educational Television
Elementary School Journal
Exceptional Children
Harvard Educational Review
International Journal of Early Childhood
Journal of Broadcasting
Journal of Communication
Journal of Educational Psychology
Journal of Learning Disabilities
Journal of Special Education

Journalism Quarterly

Language Arts

Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development

National Elementary Principal

Ohio Schools

Orbit

PTA Magazine

Perceptual and Motor Skills

Phi Delta Kappan

Public Telecommunications Review

Publishers Weekly

Reading World

School Library Journal

Teachers College Record

Teaching Exceptional Children

Urban Review

Visual Education

Young Children

T is an eclectic category which includes theses, books, book reviews, and papers presented at conferences. Unpublished manuscripts, privately published research reports and ERIC microfiches are also included in this category. In other words, all those written communications not specific to P or S are categorized as T.

Type of Article

Articles were categorized as IR-a research report, SR-secondary research, reporting about research, or Op-the opinion of the writer. The categories are as follows:

IR: Research reports were results of research carried out by single authors, by a group of researchers, or were commissioned by by an organization.

SR: Articles concerning research reports expressed little personal opinion, but either commented about the research findings, or compared various research findings.

Op: Communications referred to as opinion were of two types. Some of the articles were written as the result of press releases. Some were written by professional people, sociologists, media critics, psychologists, who, because of their backgrounds or their expertise in specific areas, felt themselves qualified to pass judgments upon various aspects of Sesame Street or Children's Television Workshop.

Positive, Negative, and Neutral Attitudes

The attitude pervading the communication was noted:

+ Some articles were either totally, or for the most part, very positive and supportive. These were given a plus sign.

- Those articles which were wholely, or for the most part, negative, were assigned a minus.

± Those articles which expressed either no judgments concerning the positive or negative effects of Sesame Street, its setting, cast, production techniques or objectives, or stated both positive and negative remarks and were ambivalent were given a plus/minus sign.

Mention in the Quarter Annual Reports

The title of each communication, the author, the sponsoring agency, and the periodical in which the article appeared were checked by means of the Indices for their mention in any Quarter Annual Report.

Criticism as a Part of Feedback

Criticism as a part of feedback has been defined as: "1) disapproval; faultfinding; 2) the making of judgments; analysis of merits and faults; 3) a critical comment, essay, review, etc."[1] Thesaurus synonyms for criticism are: "commentary, review, critique, treatise, judgment."[2] Remarks published in magazine articles and professional journals, and books referenced in the Sesame Street bibliography (Appendices A and B) were considered criticism for the purposes of this study. The definition for feedback is, in part: " . . . a self-criticizing or regulating mechanism."[3] Considering that Sesame Street is organized according to a systematic model, is produced for its audience and paid for by its audience, both terms, criticism and feedback can be considered appropriate nomenclature in referring to references in communications concerning Sesame Street.

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[1] Clarence L. Barnhart, Thorndike Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 206.

[2] Norman Lewis, Roget's Thesaurus (New York: Washington Square Press, 1970), p. 91.

[3] Barnhart, Thorndike Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary, p. 300.

However, feedback also encompasses, as well as criticism from the audience, information from in-house research, staff meetings, etc. These areas of feedback were not discussed in this study.

Influence means the "power to produce an effect without using coercion."[1] This definition infers that some kind of change is the result of audience criticism. Children's Television Workshop is organized with this dynamic concept.

Direct Criticism and Indirect Criticism

This present study recognizes direct criticism as being the kind of criticism that is made by telephone or by letter directly to the Sesame Street producers or to Children's Television Workshop. The criticism that appears in articles about Sesame Street in newspapers, journals, books, and professional periodicals is considered to be indirect criticism because the primary audience for such writings are the readers of the periodicals or the general public. It is reasonable to assume, of course, that the writers would expect the Sesame Street producers to be among the readers, by reason of their news-clipping service, in an indirect manner of communication.

Since the present study researches the criticism that appears in the periodic literature, this study is limited to the indirect criticism.

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[1] Ibid., p. 410.

Audience Influence on Programming

Audience influence on programming in this study originally referred to program changes which were specifically attributed to the supposition that criticism from the audience resulted in change. The theme of the criticism and the audience category from which it emanated was expected to be given notice in the Quarter Annual Reports. It was discovered, however, that little or no mention of specific critics or themes of criticism were made in the Quarter Annual Reports. Inferences only could be drawn from the statements in the Quarter Annual Reports. It was then decided to search the articles written by the Children's Television Workshop staff to discover if they responded to a critic or a critical theme, and if so, to which categories of critics. Again, inferences concerning audience influence were thus made.

Limitations of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the analysis of criticisms did not include the direct criticism in letters, telephone calls to Children's Television Workshop or the analysis of newspaper articles.

This study does not pertain to the value of television and its relationship to children, or to whether Sesame Street does or does not contribute toward the education of children. No attempt is made to evaluate the content or effectiveness of Sesame Street.

This study is also limited to the Sesame Street programming in the United States and the relationship with its audience. However, the Sesame Street bibliography in Appendix C does include some international articles that were published in the United States. These items were not analyzed.

The criticism investigated by this study was not the totality of the feedback loop which influenced the production of Sesame Street. As stated numerous times, Children's Television Workshop conducts on-going research on its own, sponsors conferences, and contracts with independent research specialists.

The basic assumption about content analysis is that the communication is meaningful, and that "the content be accepted as a 'common meeting-ground' for the communicator, the audience, and the analyst."[1] This basic agreement is assumed to apply to the Quarter Annual Reports by the Children's Television Workshop by reason of its publication and submission to and acceptance by the government of them.

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[1] Richard E. Palmer, Hermeneutics; Interpretation Theory In Schleiermuncher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Godamer, p. 19.

CHAPTER II

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Procuring the Quarter Annual Reports of the Children's Television Workshop

As previously mentioned under *Procedures*, page 19, most of the Quarter Annual Reports between 1969 and 1975 were in the possession of the Instructional Technology Department, Teachers College. Professor William Hug, in whose possession they belonged, graciously allowed this researcher to remove them from his office for the purpose of indexing and analyzing the reports for policy changes.

Four of the Quarter Annual Reports were missing. A visit to the library of Children's Television Workshop produced copies of three of the missing reports. A fourth could not be found in the Children's Television Workshop library nor in any office at Children's Television Workshop. Upon being contacted at the United States Office of Education, Dr. Clarence Fogelstrom searched the government records for the missing report. Finding the files incomplete, he called Mr. Robert Davidson concerning the missing report, and they concluded that the Quarter Annual Report for the dates of 1/1/72-3/31/72 was never written nor submitted.

Assigning Volume Numbers to the Quarter Annual Reports

For ease in handling the Quarter Annual Reports and for simplicity of reference, it was decided to designate the Quarter Annual Reports with sequential volume numbers, beginning with the first one dated, 3/15/69-8/15/69, designated Volume I, and ending with the report dated 10/1/75-12/31/75, Volume XXV. Thus, hereafter, unless the date is specifically needed for the reference, each Quarter Annual Report will be referred to by volume number. The volume number and the correspondingly dated Quarter Annual Report constitute Appendix E. These Quarter Annual Reports provide a continuous record, except for Volume X, dated 1/1/72-3/31/72, which apparently was never written.

Indexing the Quarter Annual Reports

As previously mentioned, all the available Quarter Annual Reports were indexed in accordance with the University of Chicago's A Manual of Style. A subject listing and proper name listing was made for each Quarter Annual Report. This indexing was essential for determining the frequency of the response to names of critics, critical articles, or sponsoring agencies of critical articles, as well as frequency of themes.

Every page of every Quarter Annual Report was read. Themes and proper names were underlined with a soft lead pencil so that the marks could easily be erased later. Then the researcher read quickly through the report again, noting each underlined word or phrase on a 3" by 5" index card. Then, after each report was completed, the index cards were separated into a subject pile and a proper name pile. Each pile was then alphabetized. The subject listing and the proper name listing were then typed in rough draft, checked for accuracy, and typed in the final form found in Appendix F. Although accurate time records were not kept of this task, the reading and recording on the 3" by 5" cards took at least one hundred twenty-five hours.

Sequential Treatment of Quarter Annual Reports

At the same time that the indexing was being conducted, the researcher read the reports to determine if there were claimed changes in the Sesame Street program.

When the Quarter Annual Report contained a statement which was a stated change in programming, the stated change and the page and volume of the Quarter Annual Report was also noted on a 3" by 5" card. Thus the changes admitted by Children's Television Workshop were noted, and changes in indexing subject was facilitated. The findings are reported in Chapter III, p. 47.

Periodic Literature Concerning Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop

The phrase periodic literature refers in this research to all the articles of communication written concerning Sesame Street or Children's Television Workshop. That is, all the indirect criticism referred to under definitions, page 34 which includes books, book reviews, theses, magazine articles, and unpublished manuscripts.

Compiling the Bibliography

Using the bibliographical references found in Gerald Lesser's Children and Television,[1] an initial identification of critics and critical articles was made. Action for Children's Television was visited, and their bibliography was also checked for Sesame Street references.[2] Children's Television Workshop publishes a bibliography and that too was incorporated.[3]

A computerized periodic literature search was conducted using Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop as identifiers. (The Dialog search encompasses ABI, Dissertation Abstracts, ERIC, NTIS, Psychological Abstracts, Social Science Citation Index, and Social Science Search.) All references through 1975 were identified.

Altogether, 236 citations comprise the researcher's Sesame Street bibliography, as listed in Appendices A, B, and C. Of these, a total of 187 were read and analyzed. This number represents all the citations which could be found in print or on microfiche by December 15, 1977.

Compiling the Appendices

All 236 bibliographic citations were alphabetized into a master list. Then each reference was separated and attached to a 5" by 8" index card. These cards were then arranged sequentially by date. Since many of these references were periodic articles, many were dated by day and month, as well as year. Any article without the monthly dating was placed after December of that year. It was felt that changes in categories of criticisms and critics might be noticed by such a temporal organization. The year and number of the article within that year was noted at the upper left hand corner of the index card.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television.

[2] Action for Children's Television, Children and Television: An ACT Bibliography (Newton, Massachusetts: Action for Children's Television, 1975).

[3] Children's Television Workshop Research Bibliography (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1968-1976).

Each reference was then searched through ERIC, the libraries at Children's Television Workshop, Columbia University, Dutchess Community College, Mid-Hudson Library System, State University of New York at New Paltz, and Vassar College. The reference librarians at Teachers College library ordered those which were available through interlibrary loan. Notes were taken on the articles, Xerox copies were made, or in some cases, copies of articles published by Children's Television Workshop were freely provided to the researcher.

Appendix A: Articles Written by Children's Television Workshop Staff Members

As it became apparent that the Quarter Annual Report indexing was not revealing a recognition and responsiveness for audience criticisms, increased importance was given to the content of articles written by Children's Television Workshop staff members. The analysis of these articles was considered extremely important in judging the responsiveness of Children's Television Workshop to criticism.

Identifying Staff Members

All the articles which identified Children's Television Workshop as the author were considered written by the staff of Children's Television Workshop. Some authors identified their relationship to

Children's Television Workshop as that of employees. Although Gerald Lesser was the Director of the Board of Advisors, his relationship to the staff of Children's Television Workshop was such that it was decided by this researcher that his communications would be considered with the staff.

Originally Gerry Bogatz and Samuel Ball were not classified as staff because they were researchers employed by the independent Educational Testing Service, which was contracted by Children's Television Workshop to perform evaluative studies. However, in 1972, Children's Television Workshop published The Impact of Sesame Street On Children's First School Experiences.[1] Later, these authors, along with Gita Jane Wilder authored, "The Sesame Street Generation: The Year After."[2] All their reports, twelve which they co-authored, plus the report written with Wilder, were reclassified with those articles written by the staff.

Checking in the Quarter Annual Reports

Then, using the Quarter Annual Report indices, all the names of authors from the Sesame Street bibliography were checked in the text of the appropriate Quarter Annual Report and whether they were or were not members of the Children's Television Workshop were ascertained. (Polsky, for example, was originally classified in Appendix B, as B6, educator, since his dissertation from Teachers College, Columbia University, was written about the history of Children's Television Workshop. However, after checking the index of Volumes I, 3/15/69-8/15/69 and III, 1/1/70-4/30/70, it was apparent that Polsky was a staff member of Children's Television Workshop.)

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[1] Gerry Ann Bogatz and Samuel Ball, The Impact of Sesame Street On Children's First School Experiences (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1972).

[2] Gita Jane Wilder, Gerry Ann Bogatz, and Samuel Ball, "The Sesame Street Generation: The Year After," (New York: Children's Television Workshop, undated.)

Altogether, 73 articles were identified as having been written by staff of Children's Television Workshop. These articles were read and analyzed.

Appendix B: Articles Authored by Other Than the Staff of Children's Television Workshop

Appendix B contains the 114 articles written between 1968 and 1975 by authors other than members of the staff of Children's Television Workshop. All of these articles were read and analyzed. The same method was followed in reviewing the articles in journals and periodicals written by people other than Children's Television Workshop staff.

Appendix C: Articles Which Could Not Be Located

The bibliographic information for Appendix C contains all of the forty-nine articles written about Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop which could not be obtained and read by December 15, 1977. Fifteen of these articles are in foreign publications. Four were reports by Children's Television Workshop, but were unpublished and not even available at Children's Television Workshop library. One was a master's thesis and three were reports published by universities. All four of these were unavailable through inter-library loan. Eight articles could not be traced (one of these articles was of international origin, so would not have been included in the analysis any way). Of the eighteen remaining citations, either the magazine article had been vandalized, or the periodical was not part of the collections in the libraries at Columbia University, Dutchess Community College, Mid-Hudson Library System, State University of New York at New Paltz, Vassar College, nor were they available through ERIC or Xerox, or inter-library loan.

Analysis of Staff and Non-Staff Articles (Appendix A & B)

As previously mentioned, the bibliographic citation index cards were organized chronologically and separated by year. As staff and non-staff articles became identified, a double filing system was chronologically arranged. Then the 73 staff articles and the 114 non-staff articles were noted chronologically on charting paper. Notes were recorded concerning the theme of the article, whether the purpose was to respond to another communication, or whether the article was a research report, those people who were quoted, etc. An example of an article's index card and two charts for 1970 are shown in Appendix D.

It was hoped that trends and changes would thus be discovered. However, what did become apparent was the need to further define the audience categories and the theme categories, as well as to take into consideration the means of communications, the types of communication involved, whether the articles were positive, neutral, or negative, and whether, in fact, the critic was mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports.

Coding the Bibliographic Cards

It was decided that every bibliographic reference that was read and analyzed, Appendices A and B, could be awarded symbols which would categorize each article accordingly:

The first four digits represent the year of publication.

The second notation, CTW, indicates that the article was authored by the staff of Children's Television Workshop. All articles which comprise Appendix A have the CTW notation. All the articles which comprise Appendix B, and, therefore, were written by authors other than Children's Television Workshop staff, are given a dash for the second notation.

The third notation indicates the audience category from which the critic who wrote the article was identified. These categories were defined on pages 21 through 27.

The fourth notation indicates the general or primary theme of the critical article. These themes were defined on pages 27 through 28.

The fifth notation of the code indicates the type of publication in which the communication was printed. P represents popular magazines, as defined and listed on page 29. S represents the specialized periodicals usually written for specific sub-populations of the audience; these magazines are listed on pages 30 and 31.

The sixth notation represents the audience to which the article was directed. The same classifications used for the audience category from which the critic emerged was used to classify the target audience for the article. These categories are defined on pages 21 through 27.

The seventh notation in the bibliographic code indicates whether the communication was a research report, IR, an article about one or several research reports, SR, or an interpretative article, Op, based mainly upon the professional opinion of the author rather than on research. These classifications were more fully defined on page 32.

The eighth notation indicates whether the general attitude of the article is accepting and positive towards Sesame Street, +, is neutral or noncommittal, ±, or for the most part is negative, -. These categories are defined on page 32.

The ninth notation is either a Y, yes, or an N, no, that the author, of if the article is not bylined, the publication in which the article appeared, is mentioned in any Quarter Annual Reports. If the notation is Y, the volume or volumes in which the name appeared is noted on the bibliographic card, but this information was not considered necessary for this research, so it was not included in the bibliographic codes in Appendices A and B.

Coding the bibliographic cards took approximately fifteen hours, excluding checking the indices, notation nine, to ascertain whether the author was mentioned. This task, alone, took nine hours. A facsimile is included in Appendix D.

Tabulating the Bibliographic Codes

Entering the data from the card for each article took approximately five to eight minutes. The results of the tally will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

As a result of the procedures applied in Chapter II, the questions listed on page 3 can now be answered in this chapter.

Results of the Analysis of the Quarter Annual Reports

As discussed on page 38,when the Quarter Annual Reports mentioned a specific change in programming, notes were taken on 3" by 5" cards. The findings of the research concerning the Quarter Annual Reports can now answer the research questions pertaining to them, which are:

1. In what ways did the Quarter Annual Reports change?
2. What programming changes are mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports?
3. Did the Quarter Annual Reports reflect awareness to critics and criticism?

Q1: In What Ways Did the Quarter Annual Reports Change?

Changes in Organization of Quarter Annual Reports. The mechanics, organization and quality of the writing of the Quarter Annual Reports changed a great deal throughout the period studied.

For the first few years, the Quarter Annual Reports were polished pieces of communications--no spelling or grammatical mistakes. It was interesting to see, however, that in the early years the section reserved for problems was left blank and later deleted. In Volume IV, the first problem was mentioned--complications concerning the use of the name of Sesame Street, an externally originated problem and one that was related to the larger problem of United States copyright laws. A problem was finally identified in July 1973, Volume XVI.

By July 1, 1974, production of the Quarter Annual Reports became departmentalized, and it is thus inferred that each department wrote its own section in the Quarter Annual Reports. Less quality control was apparent. In Volume XIX, 4/1/74-6/30/74, p. 2, the title of a book was placed in quotation marks, rather than underlined. In the same Quarter Annual Report, p. 6, a typographical error was made--Abrabia. In the following volume of the Quarter Annual Report, p. 4, corps was spelled incorrectly.

By 1975, the reports were still compiled by departments, but were written in modified outline form.

Volume XXII, 1/1/75-3/31/75, on p. 4 and on p. 7, had printing so poor that it was virtually illegible.

Fiscal Changes. The economic support base for Sesame Street began to change, as inferred from the statement that, "There will be no grant from Mobil this year. . . . We are seeking other funding." Children's Television Workshop also contracted with King Features to produce commercially syndicated comics for newspapers.

Again, one can only speculate on the events which resulted in a looking toward commercialism of Sesame Street.

The increasing need for additional funding sources was mentioned throughout 1974, although no discussion was held concerning the reasons for the funding cutbacks which had occurred. Perhaps the search for funding influenced the fact that planning activities were begun with The Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation's Play to Grow Activities as a means of incorporating activities for retarded children into the Sesame Street curriculum. To this end, a research seminar with Mr. H. Kramer of The Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation was held as a follow-up to the planned integration of Play to Grow Activities into Sesame Street's seventh season.

Interestingly, it was also reported in this Quarter Annual Report that in-house research, "Kermit Study," indicated the need to change the images of some of the Sesame Street characters, although some critics had previously made complaints about them.

Q2: What Programming Changes Are Mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports?

Although the Quarter Annual Reports were the primary means of accountability to a major sponsor, and even though the Children's Television Workshop stated that one of its aims was to utilize audience feedback, very little actual criticism was reported in the Quarter Annual Reports.

Granted, the listing of awards which fill many lines in almost every Quarter Annual Report, shows attention to positive support and supportive criticism from various audience groups. Yet, the fact remains that under the heading, "Problems," no situation pertinent to criticism is ever mentioned. (In subsequent Quarter Annual Reports, the section titled "Problems" was omitted.)

For example, in the original meeting with Dr. Palmer and Mr. Davidson, the impact from Chicano groups in Texas at a meeting attended by Children's Television Workshop staff was credited as being very forceful feedback in the examination of bilingual/bicultural objectives. Yet, any confrontation with any audience category is never mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports; therefore, they do not apprise the reader of such input.

Instead, the researcher, being aware of the research report, Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles,[1] could only draw implications as to the effect of this particular audience group on programming. Nowhere did this researcher discover that the Quarter Annual Reports cited outside criticism from audiences as reasons for changes in programming.

The Quarter Annual Reports mention few programming changes resulting from indirect criticism. Rather, information from Children's Television Workshop's own research department was used as the basis for most decisions.

Segments of proposed programming were previewed by children and their interest, through their attention, was measured:

> As one might expect, the children provided many surprises, and since the show is so thoroughly experimental, we ended up discarding some ideas that we had prejudged to be excellent. A case in point was a series of segments entitled 'Man From Alphabet,'

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[1] Children's Television Workshop, Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1973).

> which was intended to teach various letters. We saw it as a regular feature of Sesame Street, but the children did not. They were neither very entertained nor informed by the segments, and in many cases their most discernible reaction was a cross between boredom and confusion. "Man From Alphabet" was literally "canned."

The above quotation, taken from the Quarter Annual Report, Volume VII, 4/1/71-6/30/71, p. C3, also indicates that Children's Television Workshop is unique in its interest in discovering what type of programming children do like. According to the experts, nobody really knows what programming children like.[1]

The research reports and audience surveys conducted by Children's Television Workshop are valuable additions to the larger study of audience.[2] Indeed, along with the summative and formulative topics of research as defined by Children's Television Workshop in the Quarter Annual Report, Volume XI, 4/1/72-6/30/72, p. 7., "A third research category, audience surveys, is used to determine the size and composition of the audience."

Changes in Goals. That changes were made in the instructional goals was stated in Volume VIII, 7/1/71-9/30/71. "There will be new curriculum matter pertaining to the environment, and an enlarged bilingual and bicultural curriculum." Actually, as previously mentioned, the Children's Television Workshop study was specified as a bilingual one. Yet, in this volume appeared the first mention of the Cuban community who had actually been at the forefront of the national movement for bilingualism.

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[1] Robert M. Liebert, M. Neale, and Emily S. Davidson, The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1973).

[2] This current research report is not specifically involved in studying this aspect of the published communications of Children's Television Workshop; however, their importance is noted.

The inclusion of bilingual instructional goals logically had a subsequent effect on the non-broadcast materials area of Sesame Street as reported in Volume VIII, 7/1/71-9/30/71.

The Quarter Annual Reports state that feedback does influence Sesame Street's programming, as evidenced by the following:

> The goals and curriculum of the second year of Sesame Street had been enlarged and modified by CTW research staff in response to ideas, criticisms and research results of the initial year.

Yet at no time was a programming change attributed to outside feedback in a Quarter Annual Report.

In the same volume, a change in the curriculum to include "ecological subjects" was noted. However, the reasons for the change and who or what department was responsible was not mentioned.

Q3: Did The Quarter Annual Reports Reflect Awareness to Critics and Criticism?

Children's Television Workshop was obviously aware of the existence of communications of negative criticism about Sesame Street, as evidenced by, "The BBC decision not to run Sesame Street created considerable comment throughout Britain." Yet, the Quarter Annual Report goes on to describe that the commercial stations in England

and Wales televised the series. No mention of the content of the criticism was made or rebutted.

In Volume XV, 4/1/73-6/30/73, the Quarter Annual Report contained a bibliography in its appendix of communications written about Sesame Street. Incorporated into the list were the research reports sponsored by Children's Television Workshop. Also, articles of less than favorable remarks were included such as Sprigle's and Bronfenbrenner's. This indicates that Children's Television Workshop was fully aware of these critiques; however, nowhere else in the Quarter Annual Reports are these authors or their criticisms mentioned.

In conclusion, it seems that according to the Quarter Annual Reports, Children's Television Workshop did not give attention to the critics of Sesame Street.

Results of the Analysis of the Periodic Literature

Tables I and II summarize the findings of the results of the analysis of the periodic literature. Each question is discussed by remarks based on Table I preceding the discussion based on Table II. Sometimes examples are given and comparisons and contrasts are drawn.

TABLE I

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THE SEVENTY-THREE STAFF WRITTEN ARTICLES WERE ASSIGNED TO THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES BY YEAR OF PUBLICATION (1968-1975)

AUDIENCE CATEGORY-AUTHOR	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
A-Children									
B-Individual Adult									
B1-General public, nonprofessional adult									
B3-Day care workers, teachers librarians									
B4-General media critics									
B5-Educational media critics									
B6-Educational specialists, researchers	2	4	15	13	7	13	9	10	73
B7-Station masters									
C-Sponsors and Agencies									
C1-Sponsoring agencies									
C2-Public interest corporations									
D-National Advisory Council									
E-Special Interest Groups									
E1-Homosexuals									
E2-Women									
E3-Handicapped									
E4-Blacks									
E5-Spanish-speaking									
E6-Indians									
F-National professional or education groups									

TABLE I (Continued).

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
THEMES IN CRITICISM									
1-Social Change				1					1
2-The Disadvantaged			2	5	1	2			10
3-The Handicapped									
4-Ethnic Minorities									
5-Television as an Educational Force									
5a-General discussion	1	1	3	1	2	4	2		14
5b-Affective domain		1	1	1		3	3	4	13
5c-Cognitive domain	1	1	9	3	3	2	3	1	23
6-Production Techniques		1		2	1	1	1	4	10
MEDIUM OF PUBLICATION									
P-Popular magazines									
S-Specialized periodicals		2	2	3	2		2		11
T-Eclectic	2	2	13	10	5	13	8	9	62
AUDIENCE CATEGORY-READER									
A-Children									
B-Individual Adult									
B1-General public, nonprofessional adult					1	1	1		3
B3-Day care workers, teachers librarians				3					3
B4-General media critics		2	1	1			2		6
B5-Educational media critics		1	1	1	2				5
B6-Educational specialists, researchers	1	1	12	7			7	7	44
B7-Station masters				1	3	1			5

TABLE I (Continued).

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
C-Sponsors and Agencies									
C1-Sponsoring agencies	1*					1			2
C2-Public interest corporations									
D-National Advisory Council									
E-Special Interest Groups									
E1-Homosexuals									
E2-Women									
E3-Handicapped									
E4-Blacks									
E5-Spanish-speaking									
E6-Indians									
F-National professional or education groups			1		1	1		2	5
TYPES OF ARTICLE									
IR-Initial Research		1	8	7	3	4	5	5	33
SR-Secondary Research	2	3	6	6	4	8	2	4	
Op-Opinion			1			1	3		
ATTITUDES									
+ Positive	2	4	15	13	7	12	10	9	72
- Negative									
± Neutral						1			1
MENTION IN THE QUARTER ANNUAL REPORTS									
Y-Yes	2	4	12	9	7	13	8	9	64
N-No			3	4			2		9

* B, C, D specifically mentioned as target audience-reader.

TABLE II

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THE ONE HUNDRED FOURTEEN NON-STAFF WRITTEN ARTICLES WERE ASSIGNED TO THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES BY YEAR OF PUBLICATION (1968-1975)

	68	79	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
AUDIENCE CATEGORY-AUTHOR									
A-Children									
B-Individual Adult									
B1-General public, nonprofessional adult									
B3-Day care workers, teachers librarians			1	4			1	1	7
B4-General media critics	5	5	16	3	2	1	2	2	36
B5-Educational media critics			2	4	1	2		1	10
B6-Educational specialists, researchers			5	8	8	5	10	8	44
B7-Station masters			1			1	1		3
C-Sponsors and Agencies									
C1-Sponsoring agencies			2	3	3	1		1	10
C2-Public interest corporations						2			2
D-National Advisory Council									
E-Special Interest Groups									
E1-Homosexuals									
E2-Women									
E3-Handicapped									
E4-Blacks									
E5-Spanish-speaking									
E6-Indians									
F-National professional or education groups						1	1		2

TABLE II (Continued).

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
THEMES IN CRITICISM									
1-Social Change			4	1		2		1	8
2-The Disadvantaged			3	3	3	1	1		11
3-The Handicapped				1	1	1	1		4
4-Ethnic Minorities			1			1	1	1	4
5-Television as an Educational Force									
5a-General Discussion	5	5	10	10	4	1	3	8	46
5b-Affective domain			2		1	1		1	5
5c-Cognitive domain			5	7	5	4	6	2	29
6-Production Techniques			2		1	2	2		7
MEDIUM OF PUBLICATION									
P-Popular magazines	4	5	15	3					27
S-Specialized periodicals	1		6	10	7	2	8	8	42
T-Eclectic			6	9	8	11	6	5	45
AUDIENCE CATEGORY-READER									
A-Children									
B-Individual Adult									
B1-General public, nonprofessional adult	5	5	14	4		2			30
B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians			3	5		3	2	1	14
B4-General media critics			1		1	1	3	3	10
B5-Educational media critics			2	2	1	1		1	7
B6-Educational specialists, researchers			6	10	13	6	7	7	49
B7-Station masters									

TABLE II (Continued).

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
C-Sponsors and Agencies									
C1-Sponsoring agencies									
C2-Public interest corporations									
D-National Advisory Council									
E-Special Interest Groups									
E1-Homosexuals									
E2-Women									
E3-Handicapped									
E4-Blacks			1						1
E5-Spanish-speaking									
E6-Indians									
F-National professional or education groups				1			2	1	4
TYPES OF ARTICLE									
IR-Initial Research			4	6	7	7	6	1	31
SR-Secondary Research			9	8	5	4	6	11	43
Op-Opinion	5	5	14	8	3	2	2	1	40
ATTITUDES									
+ Positive	1	5	20	17	11	12	13	11	90
- Negative	1		6	5	3	1	1	1	18
± Neutral	3		1		1			1	6
MENTION IN THE QUARTER ANNUAL REPORTS									
Y-Yes	1	1	7	1	1	4		1	16
N-No	4	4	20	21	14	9	14	12	98

Table I - Frequency With Which the Seventy-Three Staff Written Articles Were Assigned to the Various Categories By Year of Publication (1968-1975)

Audience category-Author

Table I shows a tally of the 73 articles written by authors who were judged to be staff members or closely associated with Children's Television Workshop. The method of tally was explained on page 45, and an example of an index card for an article and tally sheets are shown in Appendix D. As shown in Table I, all 73 of the staff authored articles are in category B6-Educational specialists, researchers, a category that fits the purpose of Children's Television Workshop.

Themes in Criticism

Only one of the 73 articles had as the major theme 1-Social Change. Ten articles, all written in the middle years, 1970 to 1973, were about theme 2-the Disadvantaged. Two later articles written in 1973 and 1974 were about 4-Ethnic Minorities. Interestingly, no article was written by the staff which had as its main theme 3-the Handicapped. Fifty articles, 68%, were about 5-Television as an educational force. Fourteen were in category 5a-General discussion; thirteen were about 5b-Affective domain; and twenty-three were categorized as 5c-Cognitive domain. Ten articles were in category 6-Production Techniques.

Medium of Publication

Eleven articles appeared in S-specialized periodicals. No article written by a member of the Children's Television Workshop staff was published in P-popular magazines. Sixty-two, or 85%, were classified in the T-Eclectic category.

Audience Category-Reader

No article by a staff member of Children's Television Workshop was addressed to A-Children. Only three articles apiece were directed toward B1-General public, nonprofessional adult, and B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians. Six articles were directed at B4-General media critics. B5-Educational media critics were the target of five articles. Forty-four, or 60%, of the articles were written primarily to B6-Educational specialists, researchers as the target audience. Five articles, written during the middle years, 1971, 1972, and 1973, were addressed to B7-station masters--directors and producers of television programs. Two articles, one in 1968 and one in 1973, were intended for C-Sponsors and Agencies. Category F-National professional or education groups was the target of five articles.

Types of Article

The type of article written by the staff members shows a certain skewing. Thirty-three, 45%, were IR-Initial research reports. Thirty-five, or 48%, were SR-Secondary research articles. Only 7% were Op-Opinion articles.

Attitudes

The attitudes expressed toward Sesame Street was overwhelmingly positive. Seventy-two were classified as positive, +. Only one article had any amount of negative remarks, -. None were ±, ambivalent or neutral.

Mention in the Quarter Annual Reports

Sixty-four, or 88%, of the staff members who wrote articles about Sesame Street had their names published in at least one Quarter Annual Report and, therefore, were in the Y category. Nine were in the N category and were not mentioned.

Table II - Frequency With Which the One Hundred Fourteen Non-Staff Written Articles Were Assigned to the Various Categories By Year of Publication (1968-1975).

Audience Category-Author

Table II shows a tally of the one hundred fourteen articles written by authors who were judged not to be staff members of Children's Television Workshop. The method of tally was explained on page 45.

As shown in Table I, not one article was written by a member of Category A-children, nor were any articles attributed to B1-General public, nonprofessional adult. Seven articles emanated from writers in B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians. Thirty-two percent, or sixteen articles were written by B4-General media critics, and ten articles were written by B5-Educational media critics. Thirty-nine percent were written by B6-Educational specialists, researchers. Only 3 Station masters--directors or producers, B7, wrote about Sesame Street. A total of twelve articles issued from C-Sponsors: C1-Sponsoring agencies had ten articles or reports attributed to them, and C2-Public interest corporations wrote two articles.

The D-National Advisory Council and E-Special interest group categories did not provide any publications.

F-National professional or education groups authored two articles, both in the middle years, 1972 and 1973.

Themes in Criticism

Eight of the one hundred fourteen articles had as the major theme 1-Social Change. Eleven articles were about theme 2-The Disadvantaged. Both the Handicapped, 3, and Ethnic Minorities ,4, were the main thrust of four articles apiece. More than half, 61%, of the themes centered around Television as an Educational Force, 5. Category 5a-General discussion of educational television accounted for forty-six, or 40%, of the articles. 5b-Affective domain, was the main theme of five articles by authors who were not part of the Children's Television Workshop staff. 5c-Cognitive domain had twenty-nine articles so classified. Category 6-Production Techniques was responsible for seven articles.

Medium of Publication

Twenty-seven of the one hundred fourteen articles from Appendix B were published in P-Popular magazines. Forty-two of the articles appeared in S-Specialized periodicals. Forty-five articles were classified in T-Eclectic category.

Audience Category-Reader

As in Table I, Table II indicates that not one article by a non-staff member was addressed to A-children. The General public, nonprofessional adult, B1, was the target of thirty of the one hundred fourteen articles. Fourteen were directed toward B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians. Ten articles had as their target audience, B4-General media critics. B5-Educational media critics were the target of seven articles. The largest target audience for non-staff reports was B6-Educational specialists, researchers, who accounted, as readers, for forty-nine articles.

C-Sponsors and Agencies and D-National Advisory Council were not targeted for any articles. The only Special Interest category which was the target of an article was E4-Blacks. F-National professional or education groups were the recipients of four articles.

Types of Article

The type of communication was quite evenly divided: IR-Initial Research, accounted for thirty-one articles, SR-Secondary Research, included forty-three articles, and Op-Opinion articles numbered forty.

Attitudes

A high majority of the articles written by non-staff authors were positive in their attitudes toward Sesame Street; so the +, Positive category, included ninety out of the one hundred fourteen articles. -, Negative category accounted for only eighteen articles. The ±, ambivalent, or neutral category, contained six articles.

Mention in the Quarter Annual Reports

Contrary to the staff authors, only sixteen non-staff articles, the authors, or the magazine in which they appeared were named in any Quarter Annual Report--category Y. N-No mention in any Quarter Annual Report was made of ninety-eight bibliographic citations, or 86%.

Q1. What Categories of the Audience Wrote Articles Concerning Sesame Street?

In Audience category A-Children, none authored magazine articles. As evidenced in Table I, every staff member of Children's Television Workshop was considered to be in the B6 category. Each one was considered to be an educator or an educational researcher.

Loretta Long, a female cast member, wrote a doctoral dissertation, "Sesame Street, A Space Age Approach to Education For Space Age Children," August 1973, but she is not a spokesperson for a women's interest group, E2. Criticism that an inordinate number of Sesame Street characters were males was reported in Children's Television Workshop's 1974 "Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center," E2, but the statements were not made by Children's Television Workshop staff.

By far the most populous category for non-staff writers--100, or a huge 88%, was category B-Individual Adults. Of the 100 individuals, 44 were categorized as B6-Educational researchers, and 36 were categorized as B4-General media critics. Twelve spokesmen from C-Sponsors and Agencies, wrote about Sesame Street. Surprisingly, only two of them were from the three foundations.

Only two representatives of national organizations in the eight years of the periodic literature studied wrote about Sesame Street. One was F. Earle Barcus, representing Action for Children's Television,[1] and the other was Anne D. Pick, representing the Minnesota Child Psychology Association.[2]

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[1] F. Earle Barcus, Concerned Parents Speak Out On Children's Television. (Boston: Action for Children's Television, March 1973).

[2] Anne D. Pick, Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology, Volume 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972).

Q2. What Is Being Criticized? Or, In Other Words, What Are the Themes of Criticism?

Theme 1: Social Change

Of all the Children's Television Workshop articles, Edward L. Palmer's "Sesame Street: Shaping Broadcast Television to the Needs of the Pre-schooler,"[1] best discusses the program's relationship with reality, society, and fantasy. "Television is capable of producing its own reality,"[2] states Palmer. It is non-competitive and non-punitive.

The eight articles written by non-staff authors run the gamut from total support of the philosophical underpinnings of Sesame Street as expressed in "Beyond Foundations: Why CTW Is Asking the Public For Money,"[3] written by a representative of one of the sponsor foundations, to the following attitudes.

Sedulus, a pseudonym for a writer in the New Republic magazine, complained about Sesame Street in many ways, including the statement that, "What is missed also in 'Sesame Street' is the recognition that many kids fail to learn because they are tired, hungry, or frightened."[4] Five years later, Rose Goldsen, a sociologist, reiterates this sentiment in her own words.[5] Although Children's Television Workshop did not set for its goal the remaking of American society, this task was implied in the criticism of the Network Project at Columbia University, which saw television as an extension of the post-industrial ills besetting society.[1]

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[1] Edward L. Palmer, "Sesame Street: Shaping Broadcast Television to Needs of the Pre-Schooler," Educational Technology 11; 2 (February 1971): pp. 18-22.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Lloyd Morrisett, "Beyond Foundations: Why CTW Is Asking The Public for Money," Public Telecommunications Review 1 (August 1973): pp. 50-56.

[4] Sedulus (Pseud.), "Sesame Street," New Republic 162 (June 6, 1970): pp. 23-28.

[5] Rose H. Goldsen, "Book Review of Children and Television--Lessons From Sesame Street, by G. S. Lesser," Contemporary Sociology 4;3 (1975): pp. 234-236.

Another psychologist, Urie Bronfenbrenner, was less grandiose in his criticism in that Sesame Street should show society as human. He said:

> It is to be hoped that the talented artists and researchers who have made Sesame Street a neighborhood where for millions of children learning is fun will now strive to make of its second season a neighborhood--and a society--where living is human.[2]

Since Sesame Street does not depict any animal society other than human society, this theme of criticism seems obtuse!

Two educational writers, John Holt and E. M. Wylie, deplored what Sesame Street is doing to formalized education in different ways. Holt felt that the present educational institutions should not necessarily be supported, and that Sesame Street aims to shore up the failing school system.[3] Wylie, on the other hand, stated that, "Some teachers felt the shows were too far removed from structured teaching."[4]

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[1] Network Project, Columbia University, New York. Down Sesame Street, Notebook Number Six, November 1973.

[2] Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Who Lives on Sesame Street?" Psychology Today (October 1970): p. 14.

[3] John Holt, "Big Bird, Meet Dick and Jane; A Critique of Sesame Street." Atlantic Monthly 227 (May 1971): pp. 72-74+.

[4] Evan McLeod Wylie, "At Last: A TV Show Good for Children: Sesame Street," PTA Magazine 64 (May 1970): pp. 12-14+.

A television-radio critic in the Saturday Review also found fault with the portrayal of reality in Sesame Street:

> Fantasy and reality are often threateningly mixed up to a preschooler. In the present format reality is recurrent; animals in cartoons eat up letters and numbers. Two adult clowns, in the style of Abbott and Costello, play the smart-dumb duo, releasing a form of aggression against adults. . . . Perhaps Sesame Street ought to be aimed at children from eight to thirteen; they know the difference between fantasy and reality.[1]

Theme 2: The Disadvantaged

Ten Children's Television Workshop articles, a much higher proportion than the eleven non-staff articles, discussed the disadvantaged.

Lesser's book, Children and Television, has fourteen indexed citations for the disadvantaged.[2] However, throughout the book he maintained that the disadvantaged were not the primary target of Sesame Street:

> A final premise that we rejected has broad implications. One common basis for deciding what should be taught in pre-school is the presumed differences between advantaged and disadvantaged children. With middle-class characteristics as a standard, some preschools are designed to bring disadvantaged children up to that standard. Aimed at giving the have-nots what the haves already possess--it must be good or why would the haves have bothered to get it? These compensatory education programs are based on what has been called the 'deficit model.' We rejected this model.[3]

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[1] Robert Lewis Shayon, "Cutting Oedipal Ties: Sesame Street," Saturday Review 53 (February 14, 1970): p. 50.

[2] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 281.

[3] Ibid., p. 51.

Lesser reiterated this assumption over and over:

> All of these "compensatory" programs aim to make amends--to give the disadvantaged children whatever it is that will make them like everyone else. But neither logic nor experience endorsed this deficit model. Our contrasting premise is to give disadvantaged children what they need in order to learn to cope with their environments and improve their lives.[1]

One of the aims of the program was to attract the largest audience possible, including the disadvantaged, and as much as Lesser protested, the reality is that a large number of pre-schoolers do live in cities and are disadvantaged. Most of the research studies conducted by Education Testing Service (listed in the bibliography) do make reference to the inner-city disadvantaged and use this population for evaluative purposes.

The criticism concerning the disadvantaged and Sesame Street is many sided, some said that the program catered too much to the disadvantaged, too little to subpopulations of the disadvantaged, such as the rural poor, did or did not impact on the disadvantaged.

Liebert, in reviewing the aforementioned book and Sesame Street, says that:

> Lesser unfortunately equates "inner-city" children and "disadvantaged" children, ignoring the existence of millions of disadvantaged youngsters in non-urban setting (in Appalachia, for instance). Somewhat more disquieting still is the rather persistent juggling act that the entire CTW project has undertaken throughout. Their working premise apparently is that all children are equally deserving of a proper education, but that the disadvantaged children are more deserving than others.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 52.

[2] Robert M. Liebert, "Sesame Street--Anatomy of a Success," Contemporary Psychology 20; 9 (1975): pp. 717-719.

Lesser also said that, "Although the Workshop did not undertake to reduce the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged children, some critics felt that this was its proper mission."[1] Lesser refutes Cook's remarks which were made in "Sesame Street" Revisited.[2] Other authors also commented upon this situation, and Sprigle reported that he had replicated the research concerning the education of the disadvantaged, and found that his data on their performance differed profoundly from those other research reports:

> The data suggest that Sesame Street curriculum does not accomplish the very relevant educational goals which were established for it. It did not prepare these poverty children for the work they had to do in first grade. It failed to narrow the achievement gap between them and middle-income children.[3]

Sprigle also thought that the adult and the teaching models provided were both threatening and unrealistic to lower-class children. (Newsweek reported that Joan Ganz Cooney responded to Sprigle by saying that his "arguments are based on assumptions that the show's producers never made."[4])

Minton also studied Sesame Street's impact on youngsters and concluded that, "Sesame Street did not appear to improve total readiness nor particular skills involved in the separate subtests aside from the alphabet subset."[5]

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 187.

[2] Thomas D. Cook et al., "Sesame Street" Revisited (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975).

[3] Herbert A. Sprigle, "Can Poverty Children Live on Sesame Street?" Young Children 26; 4 (March 1971): pp. 202-217.

[4] "Sesame Under Attack," Newsweek 77 (May 24, 1971): p. 52.

[5] Judith Haber Minton, "The Impact of Sesame Street on Reading Readiness of Kindergarten Children," Ph.D. dissertation, Fordam University, 1972.

She also referred to previous research conducted by Educational Testing Service and said that,

> Ball and Bogatz (1970) after evaluating the first year of Sesame Street, had hypothesized that television can reduce the educational gap separating advantaged and disadvantaged children before they enter first grade. The results reported herein do not confirm those expectations.[1]

There were three articles in periodicals which were not research reports but which dealt with the gap between the social classes in relation to education and Sesame Street. Bennie M. Collins et al.,[2] Beverly Gifford[3], and James Cass all made studies in this area. Cass put much criticism in perspective when he said:

> Some of the critics seem to be put off more by the uncritical acclaim accorded the program, and others appear to be moved primarily by professional jealousy because the program was well financed. But still others raise serious questions about both the objectives of achieving them. . . .[4]

Theme 3: The Handicapped

None of the Children's Television Workshop articles during the eight-year period dealt primarily with the handicapped. Four citations specifically discuss as the main theme the handicapped population of children, who, although are not necessarily pre-schoolers, do constitute a sub-population of the audience.

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[1] Ibid., p. 151.

[2] Bennie Mae Collins, Evangeline Morse, and Gerald Knowles, "Beyond Sesame Street: TV and Preschoolers," Educational Leadership 28; 2 (November 1970): pp. 143-146.

[3] Beverly Gifford, "Sesame: One Season Later," Ohio Schools 49; 4 (March 1971): pp. 11-12 and 24-25.

[4] James Cass, "Sesame Street and Its Critics," Saturday Review (December 19, 1970): p. 49.

This topic gradually becomes divided into sub-populations and much more interest in the handicapped, the retarded, and the learning disabled is kindled in the time frame following this study. As Propp had stated, "Sesame Street is one such program where educational potential with deaf children needs to be explored."[1]

Theme 4: Ethnic Minorities

Surprisingly, only two Children's Television Workshop articles were categorized as primarily dealing with the challenges of portraying America's pluralistic society. Four non-staff articles were so categorized.

At first, positive comments concerning the integrated casting were repeated in many popular periodicals. For example, Ebony said that, "Yet a striking feature of Sesame Street is the 'catholicity' of its setting and cast. Blacks and their culture are much in evidence on the show."[2] However, allegations must have been raised in the press and in other media, for Educational Testing Service published in 1972 a report, Research on Sesame Street: Some Implications for Compensatory Education, which included the following statement that the study was in response to the black community's fear of racial definitions, "whether we were simply trying to prove their children were dumb."[3] No bibliographic reference to the above statement was cited. Ball and Bogatz concluded that, "among our disadvantaged there were no significant effects due to race."[1]

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[1] George Propp, "Communicative Television for the Deaf Students," Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium on Research and Utilization of Educational Media for Teaching the Deaf, Lincoln, Nebraska, March 16-18, 1970, p. 201.

[2] "Toddle Down Sesame Street," Ebony 25 (January 1970), pp. 36-39.

[3] Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz, Research on Sesame Street: Some Implications for Compensatory Education (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1972), p. 11

Urban black, disadvantaged children, as part of the target population of preschoolers are mentioned numerous times. Long's dissertation praised the efforts of Children's Television Workshop in promoting black self-esteem:

> Through integrated casting, Sesame Street made a conscious effort to counter the incorrect tendencies of commercial television in regard to the social context and work roles assigned to blacks.[2]

Hispanics are also mentioned in this context. However, the special challenges of reaching the Spanish-speaking target audiences were explored in Children's Television Workshop's Proposal for 1973-1974 and its Sesame Street Research, 1973, and mentioned in Palmer's The Deer and the Duck. By the publication of Cooney's Children Television Workshop Progress Report, August 1974, changes in the instructional goals were made to include bilingualism. Handwritten notes by a Children's Television Workshop staff member on pages in the Children's Television Workshop Sesame Street Research: Bilingual Study clearly indicate that the title originally had been bilingual/bicultural study because of input from the Spanish-speaking communities--Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban. Although they all spoke Spanish, they are not monocultural. Biculturalism was not actually made an objective.

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[1] Ibid., p. 12

[2] Loretta Moore Long, "Sesame Street: A Space Age Approach to Education for Space Age Children," Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1973.

However, Educational Testing Service researchers critiqued their own work by admitting that the sub-population of Spanish-speaking children was comprised of only forty-two preschoolers. "Special efforts may be needed to encourage these children and their parents to watch. However, their results indicated that language did not appear to be a barrier to the learning of these children."[1]

Although "Learning by Televised 'Plaza Sesamo' in Mexico" is research based on a foreign Spanish-speaking population, it was reported in an American professional periodical, the Journal of Educational Psychology,[2] and it is relevant to the criticism expressed above. An evaluation study was conducted in Mexico with entirely Spanish-speaking children in both the control and experimental groups and "even measures of cognitive ability seemingly unrelated to the main thrust of the curriculum show measurable improvement in children who viewed the program as contrasted to those who did not."[3]

Yet, translating Sesame Street into Spanish was not considered by some to be as specific in reaching the Spanish speaking audience in the United States; so Carrascolendas, a bilingual educational television program, was begun.[4]

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[1] Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz, Research on Sesame Street: Some Implications for Compensatory Education, p. 115.

[2] Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero and Wayne H. Holtzman, "Learning by Televised 'Plaza Sesamo' in Mexico," Journal of Educational Psychology 66; 5 (October 1974): pp. 632-643.

[3] Ibid., p. 642.

[4] Frederick Williams and Geraldine VanWart, Carrascolendas: Bilingual Education Through Television (New York: Praeger Publications, 1974).

Other special interest groups, notably American Indians, had no significant mention. Lesser's book, Children and Television, was written "for a general audience instead of only a professional one,"[1] and is most comprehensive in discussing the audience categories which are the recipients of Sesame Street. However, in this book, "Spanish speech" has one entry; "Indian" has none.

Children's Television Workshop did mention, however, that there was opposition to racial allusions, such as "Hong Kong hangnails," in "Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles," 1973.[2]

Although other ethnic minorities were mentioned in descriptions of tested populations, except as targets in research experiments, such as the study by Ruopp,[3] no other minorities, such as Indians, were subjects of journal or periodical articles during the researched time frame.

Theme 5: Television as an Educational Force

Of the seventy-three staff articles, a total of fifty, 68%, dealt with television as an educational force; similarly, eighty, or about 70% of the non-staff articles dealt with the topic.

5a. Acceptance of Television as an Educational Force

Fourteen of the Children's Television Workshop articles generally discussed Sesame Street and its impact on educational television.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, pp. x-xi.

[2] Children's Television Workshop, "Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles," (1973), p. 2.

[3] Richard R. Ruopp, A Study in Child Care (Case Study from Vol.II-a): A Small U.N. Day Care Programs Reprint Series. (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Communication, Office of Economic Opportunity, November 1970).

Forty-six non-staff articles were so categorized.

Only for the first two years did critics negate the idea that television is a strong educational force.

John Horn, in 1968, was basically supportive of Sesame Street as an important vehicle of education, "But certain aspects of the enterprise are bittersweet with irony. The need is for many such programs: one is proposed."[1] Horn goes on to say that, "One program--too little and too late, tomorrow and not today--will not change the record of twenty years; it will not even stir the scales."[2]

In the same year television was called the "mindless pacifier"[3] for preschoolers; Sesame Street actually deterred their education because its huge budget pre-empted the necessary expenditures for Head Start.

That television should not be used for education was expressed by Hentoff in 1970. Her reaction to the series was that it was, "Only the first step in an attempt to make television a deliberate tool of mind training, a logical supplement to our failed system of mass public education."[4]

Stuart Little expressed well what many articles supportive of Sesame Street alluded to--that the quality of other children's programming would be positively affected by the success of Children's Television Workshop's endeavors. "Sesame Street's influence on commercial television may ultimately be its greatest achievement," he said.[1] Little, like many writers, referred to Sesame Street as a model, and as only the beginning of changes in using the airways.

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[1] John Horn, "Television: Children's Television Workshop," Nation 206 (May 13, 1968): pp. 644-645.

[2] Ibid., p. 645.

[3] "Changing the Message; NET Series, Children's Television Workshop," Saturday Review 51 (April 20, 1968): p. 66.

[4] Margot Hentoff, "Sesame Street, Hypnotic," Vogue 155 (February 1, 1970): p. 114.

Most of the articles in the popular magazines took the educational aspects of television as a given. McMahan quoted Johnson as saying, "All television is educational television. The only question is what is it teaching?"[2]

Newsweek said, for example, that "Remarkably, while the show is candy to children, it is as good for them as spinach."[3] And an article in Saturday Review refuted the phrase "mindless pacifier" which it had printed the year before by saying about Sesame Street that, "It has stimulated some new thinking about public television, and about the uses of television as a teaching tool, and success has caused the CTW to enlarge its educational goals for next year."[4] Newsweek again lauded the work Sesame Street had accomplished: "Its creators' conviction that the only thing they did wrong the first time around (the first year) was to underestimate the intelligence of their tiny viewers and the potential impact of their efforts."[5]

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[1] Stuart W. Little, "Children's Television Workshop," Saturday Review (February 8, 1969): p. 64.

[2] Harry W. McMahan, "Is Sesame Street Hurting Youth Study Habits?" Advertising Age 45; 19 (May 13, 1974): pp. 43-44.

[3] "Sesame Opens Up," Newsweek 75 (April 20, 1970): p. 102.

[4] Stuart W. Little, "From A to Z to Sesame Street," Saturday Review 53 (May 9, 1970): pp. 62-64.

[5] "Sesame at One," Newsweek 76 (November 16, 1970): p. 71.

5b. Affective Domain

Five Children's Television Workshop articles, all written between 1969 and 1972 were explicitly concerned with affective objectives, and the same number of articles can be attributed to non-staff writers.

In "Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles," 1973, one of the recommendations from input elicited by the researchers was that aggressive behavior by some of the Muppets should be eliminated. Children's Television Workshop did not comment, but by merely including the remarks, indicated its concern about illustrating and affecting social behavior.

A growing sensitivity to the affective domain is thus evidenced by the emphasis on research in this area sponsored by Children's Television Workshop. In one report, Ms. Cooney stated that:

> It is possible to discern changes in the program in the areas of production. . . . The show's educational goals have changed from teaching numbers, letters, geometric forms, relationships, classification, reasoning and problem solving to include affective goals which relate to helping a child to learn to cope with failure and obstacles and to participate in social groups. . . . Research has been and continues to be an integral part of the planning process at Children's Television Workshop, concentrating in recent years on the specific needs of bilingual and bicultural children.[1]

Lasker and Bernath's research, as reported in Status of Comprehension Study of Sesame Street Affect Bits, 1974, stated that, "Pride bits tend to show high attention and low comprehension relative to anger bits."[2]

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[1] Joan Ganz Cooney, Sesame Street at Five: The Changing Look of a Perpetual Experiment (New York: Children's Television Workshop, October 1974).

[2] Harry Lasker and Naomi Bernath. Status of Comprehension Study of Sesame Street Affect Bits (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1974), p. 1.

In the same study "The explicit goal in the Sesame Street curriculum of teaching children to label emotions in the area of anger "[1] was reiterated.

Paulson continued to research affective values under the auspices of Children's Television Workshop. He said that,

> The evaluation of the first two years emphasized cognitive skills (Ball and Bogatz, 1970; Bogatz and Ball, 1971), but during the third season (1971-1972), the Workshop undertook a major effort to refine its definitions of social behavior and to evaluate the impact of social goals programming as well. The Workshop chose to emphasize cooperation because it fit the criterion of a 'universal goal.'[2]

The Sesame Street segments resulted in improvement in cooperation in the tested pre-school audience. However, Paulson himself cautioned against the ability to generalize or transfer the learned social skill from the Sesame Street learning experience to other social situations.

Leifer researched the affective domain and presented a paper, "How to Encourage Socially-Valued Behavior,"[3] admitting that the current state of knowledge in the field is extremely limited, and more is known concerning the learning of aggressive behavior than about socially-valued behavior.

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[1] Ibid., p. 10.

[2] F. Leon Paulson, "Teaching Cooperation on Television: An Evaluation of Sesame Street Social Goals Programs, Child Development Associate Consortium, Washington, D.C." AV Communication Review 22; 3 (Fall 1974): p. 230.

[3] Aimee Dorr Leifer, "How to Encourage Socially-Valued Behavior." Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research on Child Development, Denver, Colorado, April 10-13, 1975.

Bernadette N. Shapiro took up the difficult challenge, and published a report in which "Material relating to four goal areas was tested: 1) entering social groups; 2) coping with failure; 3) coping with basic emotions; and 4) sex role stereotyping."[1]

A number of media critics previously mentioned assailed the affective type of learning which they felt Sesame Street fostered. Sedulus, in June of 1970, and Kilger in September of the same year, stated that the passivity of the learner was a detriment to the development of the preschoolers. However, the latest article written by educational media specialists (who are also psychologists), about Sesame Street, during the designated time frame, reported that research indicated contrary findings concerning television as a cool, non-involving medium, as identified by McLuhan.[2]

That the learning styles of preschoolers have changed because of Sesame Street is an idea which was proposed by Michaelson, but was not upheld with research.[3]

However, many authors suggested that Sesame Street was very competent in the realm of affective learning. Time praised the "Heavy stress of cooperation over competition."[4]

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[1] Bernadette Nelson Shapiro, Comprehension of Television Programming Designed to Encourage Socially-Valued Behavior in Children; Formative Research on 'Sesame Street' Programming With Social and Affective Goals (New York: Children's Television Workshop, September 1975).

[2] Dorothy M. Prawat and Richard S. Prawat, "Pre-schoolers Viewing Behavior While Watching Two Types of Television Fare," Perceptual and Motor Skills 40; 2 (1975): pp. 575-582.

[3] L. W. Michaelson, "Sesame Street Generation," Clearing House 47 (November 1972): pp. 187-189.

[4] "Who's Afraid of Big, Bad TV?" Time 96 (November 23, 1970): pp. 60-66.

John Leonard also mentioned the possibility of the control of aggressive behavior through the programming content of Sesame Street.[1]

However, Anne and Richard Ratliff, two psychologists, said that:

> . . . . What we feel is one of the primary shortcomings of Sesame Street--namely, the aggressions portrayed by the monsters on the program. The use of monsters is quite frequent, and their aggression is sometimes materially, and even socially rewarded. . . the child will identify with the aggressor even though he may dislike attributes of that character.[2]

They also stated:

> At best, Sesame Street may lessen (but does not eliminate) frustration in the child while it may heighten aggression in the child. The combination of aggressive models and subsequent frustration exists, then, for many children.[3]

The above is a rather strong indictment of the Sesame Street program series. Although the Ratliffs reviewed much of the current state of the field of social role learning in their article, and although they illustrated their points with excerpts from Sesame Street segments, no empirical nor associational study was carried out testing their premise for producing aggressive behavior.[4]

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[1] John Leonard, "Since the Kiddies are Hooked, Why Not Use TV For a Head Start Program?" New York Times Magazine (July 14, 1968): p. 5+.

[2] Anne R. Ratliff and Richard G. Ratliff, "Sesame Street: Magic or Malevolence?" Young Chidren 27; 4 (April 1972): p. 203.

[3] Ibid., p. 204.

[4] Ibid., p. 199-204.

Contrary to the appraisal of McMahan that humor in Sesame Street was slapstick and smacked of disrespect and scorn,[1] Libby Byers found that, "Sesame Street makes excellent use of humor to expand and reinforce new concepts."[2]

5c. Cognitive Domain

Corresponding to Sesame Street's goal of teaching pre-reading skills, twenty-three Children's Television Workshop articles were specifically written on the subject of cognitive objectives and the learning of pre-schoolers.

Educational Testing Service was hired to evaluate whether Sesame Street fulfilled its stated educational objectives, and the service published nine such reports which are listed in the bibliography, Appendix A.

Five researchers used Sesame Street programs for treatments as part of their doctoral dissertations, and one article was adapted from a thesis.[3]

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[1] Harry W. McMahan, "Is Sesame Street Hurting Youth Study Habits?" Advertising Age 45; 19 (May 13, 1974).

[2] Libby Byers, To Laugh Is to Know: A Discussion of the Cognitive Element in Children's Humor. (Urbana, Illinois: Eric Clearinghouse in Early Childhood Education, ED 051 879, 1970).

[3] Chronologically, these dissertations are:

Mark Andrew Carrico, "An Assessment of the Children's Television Program 'Sesame Street' In Relation to the Attainment of the Program's Goals by Kindergarten Children in the Sioux Falls, South Dakota Public Schools," Ed.D. dissertation, University of South Dakota, 1971.

Ruby Taylor Davis, "The Impact of Sesame Street on Selected First Grade Teachers in Indiana," Ed.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971.

Television as a teaching strategy was employed and reported in half a dozen articles, with Kliger's review a negative one. He felt that among other poor pedagogical procedures, Sesame Street teaches "Right answers (that) come from grown-ups."[1] He illustrates his complaints and then states that:

> These instances seem trivial but they are of basic importance to the curriculum designer. The teachers who declares, as frequently is the case, that children will learn to read from any kind of textbook is really saying that children learn somehow in spite of the teacher and in spite of the textbook. I cannot believe that the producers of Sesame Street will so willingly abdicate their teaching role.[2]

The conclusion could be drawn that educators overwhelmingly accepted the fact that cognitive objectives could be attained through television teaching. Kliger is the outstanding exception.

James L. Owens, "The Effects of Three Invervention Programs on the Intellectual Functioning of Four-year-old, Black Preschool Children," Ed.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, April 1973.

Judith Haber Minton, "The Impact of Sesame Street on Reading Readiness of Kindergarten Children," Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1972.

Eve H. Willis, "Sesame Street Viewing in Early Childhood in Relation to Readiness Skills and Achievement as Measured by Standardized Tests," Ed.D.dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1973.

The article adapted from the dissertation is:

Mark Carrico and Robert W. Wood, "An Evaluation of the Influence of Sesame Street on Kindergarten Achievement," Journal of Instructional Psychology 1 (Winter 1974).

[1] Samuel Kliger, "Fog Over Sesame Street," Teachers College Record 72; 1 (September 1970) : p. 44.

[2] Ibid., p. 54.

Theme 6: Production Techniques

Sesame Street's production techniques and its impact on the developing field of educational communications was the subject of ten Children's Television Workshop articles, and seven non-staff articles.

Edward L. Palmer states:

> Virtually all of the research is undertaken in direct response to the practical and urgent needs of production. . . . Preschoolers, we have found are highly selective. They do not retain an interest in a television show on a program-to-program basis, but rather on a moment-to-moment basis. And yet, if the CTW experiment is to be successful, we must make every effort to sustain their interest virtually from start to finish. Because of this imperative, Sesame Street will be the most researched, tested, and studied program in television history.[1]

Palmer et al., in 1968, identified factors in preschool educational television that engage and sustain children's attention.[2] With information so attained, and with the input from the National Advisory Committee, such techniques as animation were used to introduce new objects for vocabulary building by assigning novel action to them. The following year, Palmer, in "Research at the Children's Television Workshop," reported on the use of pixilation, a sort of stop-action, rapid frame filming technique, to draw out the preschooler's attention span.[3] (Production experimentation and its relationship to the development of Sesame Street programming was also reported in Children's

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[1] Edward L. Palmer, "Can Television Really Teach?" American Education 5; 7 (August-September 1969): p. 3.

[2] Edward L. Palmer, Jack J. Crawford, and Catherine J. Kielsmeier, A Comparative Study of Current Educational Television Programs for Preschool Children, Monmouth, Oregon: Oregon State System of Higher Education, 1968.

[3] Edward L. Palmer, "Research at the Children's Television Workshop," Educational Broadcasting Review 3; 5 (1969): pp. 43-48.

Television Workshop's,"Sesame Street Research. Report of Research on Five Test Shows," 1969.)

Barbara Reeves continued researching on the attention span of preschoolers in day-care centers. She discovered that once children lost interest in a sequence, it took a more powerful stimulus to regain their attention than to maintain it.[1]

In an unpublished manuscript entitled, "Attributes of Sesame Street that Influence Preschoolers; Attention to the TV Screen," 1971, L. Rust reported on the continued research on programming techniques.[2] Likewise, Hodapp and O'Bryan, in another unpublished manuscript for Children's Television Workshop titled, "Report on the Children's Viewing Strategies of Problem-Solving TV Segments," 1975, related the previous work primarily to cognitive instructional goals. Concern for transfer of learning was central.[3] Their preliminary results indicate that, "skills can be taught via television, but the transferability of those skills depends on the similarity of the television presentation to the transfer situation."[4]

O'Bryan continued to study the relationship between attendance and learning using the mode of instructional television segments.

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[1] Barbara Frengel Reeves, The Responses of Children in Six Small Viewing Groups to Sesame Street Shows 261-274 (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1971).

[2] Lang Rust. "Attributes of Sesame Street That Influence Preschoolers' Attention to the TV Screen" (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1971).

[3] Timothy Hodapp and Kenneth G. O'Bryan, "Report of the Children's Viewing Strategies of Problem Solving TV Segments" (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1975).

[4] Ibid., p. 8.

He found that, "individual styles of learning and achievement can be modified through television," and that, "television can be an especially strong reinforcement for learning."[1]

How to keep the children's attention has led to the branching out to other media for viable techniques which could be modified for instructional television. O'Bryan concluded that, "The clean display of well spaced prints carried by a popular character in a popular format can do much to encourage reading attempts by children."[2] The balloon containing speech of comic strip fame actually causes the words to be "more fixated" than the routine box presentation of phrases. The possibilities for use of this technique for remediation were mentioned.

O'Bryan et al. continued research in this line under the auspices of the Children's Television Workshop at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The difference in word attack skills and the difference in attention spans of good and poor readers were further reported in "Summary of Research Findings for Children's Television Workshop," 1975.[3]

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[1] Kenneth G. O'Bryan, Cues and Attention to the Visual Display in Children's Television (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1975), p. 11.

[2] Kenneth G. O'Bryan, Eye-Movement as an Index of Television Viewing Strategies (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1975), p. 18.

[3] Kenneth G. O'Bryan et al.,"Summary of Research Findings for Children's Television Workshop (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1975).

Production and Distribution

Bruce Samuels collated the results of numerous surveys conducted by a variety of interest groups, ranging from the A. C. Nielson Company to unsolicited surveys from colleges in Charlottesville and Milwaukee, in The First Year of Sesame Street: A Summary of Audience Surveys, Final Report. Volume IV of V Volumes, December 1970. Samuels concluded that special attempts to promote viewing by areas served only by UHF stations must be forthcoming.[1]

Instructional Product Design

"During the planning period, we were experimenting with many different production techniques and had only just begun to produce bits and pieces of what was later to become Sesame Street," said Lesser in Children and Television.[2] He continued, "Research would be needed to tell us how well children liked what we did and how we could make the programs more appealing to them."[3] The focus of this kind of research, which Children's Television Workshop labeled as formative research, pervaded all aspects of production. With its main thrust in servicing the target audience, all the formative research reports could broadly be categorized as instructional product designs. However, six articles especially illuminate more clearly Children's Television Workshop's interest in this area.

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[1] Bruce Samuels, Comp., The First Year of Sesame Street: A Summary of Audience Surveys, Final Report. Volume IV of V Volumes (New York: Children's Television Workshop, December 1970).

[2] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 132.

[3] Ibid., p. 132.

Seven articles about production techniques were written by non-staff authors, and one reason was Sesame Street's cost effectiveness and the potential ability to individualize learning.[1]

Scott commented upon the research carried out on children's attention span, and also on the animated segments popular with the producers of Sesame Street.[2] Sproull also examined visual attention,[3] and this topic was also the subject of a master's thesis.[4]

Q3. What Types of Publications Printed Articles About Sesame Street?

Of the seventy-three articles, eleven appeared in S-Specialized periodicals. No article written by a member of the Children's Television Workshop staff was published in P-Popular magazines. Sixty-two, or 85%, were classified in the T-Eclectic category.

Of the one hundred fourteen articles from Appendix B, twenty-seven were published in P-Popular magazines. Forty-two of the articles appeared in S-Specialized periodicals and forty-five articles were classified as T-Eclectic.

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[1] Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Educational Telecommunications: The Future Is Now (Washington, D. C., Office of the Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, October 1971). Also, Caspar W. Weinberger et al., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education: Fiscal Year 1974 (Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1975).

[2] Bryon Scott, "Turning on Tots with Educational TV Sesame Street," Today's Health 47 (November 1969): pp. 28-32.

[3] Natalie Sproull, "Visual Attention, Modeling Behaviors, and Other Verbal and Non-verbal Meta-Communication of Prekindergarten Children Viewing Sesame Street," American Educational Research Journal 10; 2 (Spring 1973): pp. 101-114.

[4] S. R. Levin, "Stimulus Determinants of Children's Attention to Sesame Street," M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1974.

It should be noted that of the seventy-three staff articles printed, not one appeared in what has been defined as a popular magazine.

Of the eleven articles which did appear in periodicals, most were educational, rather than social science journals. American Education published two articles, AV Communication Review, Educational Broadcasting Review, Educational Television, Educational Technology, Harvard Educational Review, and the PTA Magazine all printed one article apiece. One article appeared in each of the following social scientific journals: International Journal of Early Childhood, Orbit, and Urban Review.

The number of non-staff articles published in specialty magazines was almost the same as the number allocated to the T category, 44 and 47 respectively. Of the popular magazines, Look and Today's Health each printed two articles, Time printed three, and both Newsweek and Saturday Review published six articles apiece!

Q4. What Categories of Audience Were the Target Audience for the Critical Articles on Sesame Street?

Of the seventy-three articles, no articles by a staff member of Children's Television Workshop was addressed to A-Children. Only three articles apiece were directed toward B1-General public, nonprofessional adult audience and B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians. Six articles were directed at B4-General media critics. B5-Educational media critics were the target of five articles. Forty-four, or 60%, of the articles were written primarily to B6-Educational specialists, researchers as the target audience. Five articles, written during the middle years, 1971, 1972, and 1973, were addressed to B7-Station masters--directors and producers of television programs. Two articles, one in 1968 and one in 1973, were intended for C-Sponsors and Agencies. Category F-National professional or education groups were the targets of five articles.

As in Table I, Table II indicates that not one of the one hundred fourteen articles by non-staff members was addressed to A-Children. The General public, nonprofessional adult, B1, was the target of thirty of the one hundred fourteen articles. Fourteen were directed toward B3-Day care workers, teachers, librarians. Ten articles had as their target audience readers B4-General media critics. B5-Educational media critics were the target of seven articles. The largest target audience for non-staff reports was B6-Educational specialists, researchers, who accounted as readers, for forty-nine articles.

Thus, A-Children, C-Sponsors and Agencies, D-National Advisory Council and E-Special Interest Groups--except for E4-Blacks--were not targeted for any articles. F-National professional or education groups were the recipients of four articles. Some comments concerning some of these audience categories follow:

B1. Of the three publications associated with the staff of Children's Television Workshop, and written for the general public, all were in the T category of type of communication.[1] This low figure of three contrasts greatly with the thirty articles written to the general public by writers other than Children's Television Workshop staff members. Interestingly, 93%, 28 articles, were written in a two-year time frame, 1970-1971.

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[1] The three articles were:

Children's Television Workshop, Children's Television Workshop Annual Report 1973. (New York: Children's Television Workshop, September 1973.)

Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television.

Richard M. Polsky, "Getting to Sesame Street: Origins of the Children's Television Workshop," Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Palo Alto, California, Program on Communications and Society, May 15, 1974.

B3. Three articles from the staff of Children's Television Workshop were directed toward teachers, librarians, day care workers, or volunteers. Fourteen articles written by non-staff authors were so targeted. Some highlights follow:

Herbert A. Sprigle, Director of the Learning to Learn School in Jacksonville, Florida, who is also a teacher trainer as well as a curriculum developer, said he replicated the research performed by Educational Testing Service evaluating the teaching efficacy of Sesame Street. In a paper presented at a Conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children and reprinted in Young Children, Sprigle concluded that:

> If poverty children in kindergarten failed to profit from the Sesame Street curriculum what about the children at home who do not have the added benefits of a trained teacher and aide. The answer seems obvious.[1]

Actually, according to Sprigle, Sesame Street was making the job of the teacher harder.

"Who Wants to Live on Sesame Street?", an article in which Sprigle continued to relate his research findings, repeated the same results.[2]

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[1] Herbert A. Sprigle, "Can Poverty Children Live on Sesame Street?" Paper presented at the Conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, Boston, Massachusetts, November 18-21, 1970. Reprinted in Young Children 26; 4 (March 1971): pp. 202-217.

[2] Herbert A. Sprigle, "Who Wants to Live on Sesame Street?" Childhood Education 49; 3 (December 1972): pp. 91-109.

Librarians also expressed positive attitudes toward utilization of the Sesame Street programs, at the impact of this television series on libraries. In "Marshall McLuhan Lives on Sesame Street," A Caruba, a librarian, was quoted as saying that, "Children's libraries will eventually have TV sets as a regular part of their instructional tools."[1] Also Sesame Street will be good for business, because, "to participate in the 'Sesame Street' experience, preschool and primary school children are going to turn to books as natural extensions of the television screen."[2]

In an article in School Library Journal, a call for librarians to employ Sesame Street as a means of reading reinforcement by coordinating with other learning materials was made.[3]

Richard Ruopp maintained that, "Sesame Street is an integral part of each day's program."[4] He stressed that teachers can and do plan whole units around various Sesame Street program segments.

Ruopp, along with Brigid O'Farrell, observed that at the day care centers they visited, "Sesame Street is turned on twice daily for any children who want to watch it."[5]

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[1] A. Caruba, "Marshall McLuhan Lives on Sesame Street," Publishers Weekly 197 (April 20, 1970): pp. 28-31.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] "Sesame Street--What Next?" School Library Journal (November 1970): pp. 22-26.

[4] Richard R. Ruopp, A Study in Child Care (Case Study From Volume II-a): A Small U.N. Day Care Program Reprint Series, National Center for Educational Communications, Washington, D. C., Office of Economic Opportunity, November 1970, p. 25.

[5] Richard R. Ruopp and Brigid O'Farrell, A Study in Child Care (Case Study from Volume II-a): More Than Just Babysitting. Day Care Programs Reprint Series, Washington, D. C., National Center for Educational Communication, Office of Economic Opportunity, November 1970, p. 21.

B6. Forty-four reports by Children's Television Workshop were aimed at educational specialists and researchers; forty-nine of non-staff articles were so categorized. Although the actual numbers of articles are so close, the percentages are 60% and 43% respectively. This difference is accounted for by the fact that Children's Television Workshop produced many more research reports than non-staff researchers.

B7. Within a three-year period, from 1971 through 1973, the total articles, five, targeted towards station masters or producers were written by Children's Television Workshop. No articles written by non-staff writers were targeted toward this category.

C. Likewise, there were no articles written specifically to the sponsors by people not involved with Children's Television Workshop. However, the staff of Children's Television Workshop wrote seven such articles.

D. Only two articles written by Children's Television Workshop specifically mentioned that its target included the National Advisory Council.

E1. There was no criticism from or about homosexual pressure groups. (This contrasted with the correspondence addressed to Sesame Street concerning some Bert and Ernie segments.)

E2. It is interesting that only in late 1969 and 1970 was there any mention about the status of women on Sesame Street, and this was not the primary thrust of any article. Stuart Little reported the positive support given the program by the National Council of Negro Women and the National Council of Jewish Women.[1]

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[1] Stuart W. Little, "Children's Television Workshop," Saturday Review (February 8, 1969): pp. 60-62.

Without designating its source, a Look magazine article said:

> Women libbers maintain that all Susan (actress, Loretta Long) does is sit around, wear pretty clothes and make lunch. So, in appeasement, Susan now becomes a public-health nurse. Several mothers write that the show is too male-oriented.[1]

However, to this researcher, a shocking statement was made in the women's magazine, Vogue: "There is something too controlled, too centralized, too successful about Sesame Street."[2]! This researcher feels that such a statement is unproductive. It reflects poorly on a publication whose audience is women. Vogue should not align itself with finding fault with something which is productive and successful. Such a remark discredits the writer and Vogue--certainly not Sesame Street.

E3. Neither group of critics wrote any articles targeted specifically to the handicapped.

E4. No communication from Children's Television Workshop was aimed primarily at Blacks. However, one article in 1970 written by an unidentified author was directed toward a Black audience by its inclusion in a Black magazine.[3]

E5 and E6 were not necessary for the discussion of who constituted the target audiences.

F. Aimee Dorr Leifer and Edward Palmer both presented two papers to professional organizations concerning Sesame Street. Joan Ganz Cooney wrote an article for PTA Magazine, whose readership is composed of loosely federated educational groups. Thus, five

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[1] B. Boer, "Secrets of Sesame Street," Look 24 (September 22, 1970): pp. 56-58.

[2] Margot Hentoff, "Sesame Street, Hypnotic," Vogue 155 (February 1, 1970): p. 114.

[3] "Toddle Down Sesame Street," Ebony 25 (January 1970): pp. 36-39.

Q5. What Types of Articles, IR-Initial Research, SR-Secondary Research or Op-Opinion, were written?

The type of article written by the staff members shows that out of the seventy-three, thirty-three, or 45%, were IR-Initial Research reports, SR-Secondary Research accounted for thirty-five, or 48%, and five, or 77%, were Op-Opinion articles.

Of the one hundred fourteen articles, IR-Initial Research accounted for thirty-one, SR-Secondary Research had forty-three articles, and forty were Op-Opinion articles.

Articles classified as research reports or reports concerning research written by the staff of Children's Television Workshop were numerically almost evenly divided. Thirty-three articles were categorized as research reports, and thirty-five as reports about research. Three authors account for the five articles primarily based on opinion. Ms. Joan Ganz Cooney wrote two and Ms. Barbara R. Fowles, along with two other authors, wrote two articles. Edward Palmer's The Deer and the Duck[1] was a refutation of Sprigle's research. However, since Palmer did not have access to the work he was criticizing, this researcher decided that the Deer and the Duck should be categorized as an Op article.

Interestingly, an even distribution among the three categories occurred in the non-staff articles. Thirty-two research reports, forty-five articles about research, and forty-one articles primarily based upon opinion. Associated with the Op category is the fact that twenty-one of the articles so designated appeared in popular magazines.

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[1] Edward L. Palmer, The Deer and the Duck (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1973).

Q6. What Were the General Attitudes of the Articles?

The attitudes expressed toward Sesame Street were overwhelmingly positive--seventy-two were classified as +, Positive. Only one article had any amount of negative remarks, -, Negative. None were ±, Neutral or ambivalent.

Of the one hundred fourteen non-staff articles, the general attitudes were identified as +, Positive, ninety articles; -, Negative, eighteen articles; and ±, Neutral, six.

As could be expected, seventy-two of the seventy-three articles in the periodic literature written by staff of the Children's Television Workshop were supportive of Sesame Street. One research report, published by Children's Television Workshop, was positive about most aspects of Sesame Street, but, among other things, complained that the Spanish segments of the shows were frequently simply English translations, rather than representative of Hispanic culture.[1]

Only two staff members of Children's Television Workshop specifically mention critics and respond to their criticisms. One staff member, by acknowledging the critic, lends credulence to his criticism. Edward Palmer in The Deer and the Duck, 1973, questioned conclusions drawn by Herbert A. Sprigle in, "Who Wants to Live on Sesame Street?" In December, 1972, Sprigle reported that his replicative research negated a study performed by Educational Testing Service. Palmer had requested access to Sprigle's research data, but had received no cooperation.

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[1] Children's Television Workshop, "Sesame Street Research: Summary of the Script and Program Review of Sesame Street by the Chicano Study Center, University of Los Angeles," (New York: Children's Television Workshop, 1974), p. 2.

In Children and Television, Lesser refutes many negative criticisms specifically. Many of his remarks are pointed at newspaper columnists, and therefore do not pertain to this research.

Representatives and employees of the sponsors were naturally very supportive of Sesame Street.

The majority of non-staff articles also supported Sesame Street; 79%, ninety articles were, for the most part, positive. Of the six classified as ambivalent, four were communications based upon opinion, and the two others were articles which discussed research reports.

Likewise, of the eighteen articles classified as negative, fourteen were articles based upon opinion. Two discussed research reports. The remaining two articles were written by Sprigle concerning his own research. Sprigle's work was discussed in an earlier section of this study.

General media critics were both supportive and non-supportive of television as an educational force. Many questioned the quality of education which television presumed to impart.

All other audience categories reported positive attitudes toward television as an educating vehicle for the preschooler.

Less definitive and less tested than the cognitive category, conclusive statements concerning Sesame Street and the affective realm were contradictory. Again, general media critics, especially psychologists, were at different ends of the continuum of possible reactions. Those educators who did do empirical research seemed to substantiate the fact that the Children's Television Workshop goal of teaching the universally accepted social value of cooperation was achieved.

John Holt, in "Big Bird, Meet Dick and Jane: A Critique of Sesame Street," May 1971, in Atlantic Monthly, attacked Sesame Street as buttressing the educational institutions in our society which actually needed reconstructing. Lesser responded with the objectivity of purpose; Sesame Street is not a panacea for all educational problems, let alone society's ills.

In conclusion, those writers who found fault with the reality portrayed on Sesame Street were in the general media critics category, primarily. Sedulus, Wylie, and Shayon were media reviewers. Many of the other critics were sociologists or psychologists who disagreed with the basic goals decided upon by Children's Television Workshop. Sesame Street never presumed to be curing society's ills. Educational media critics, and other categories (some with reservations) on the other hand, accepted as given the basic tenets of the operational model of Children's Television Workshop.

As with the above category, those individuals most critical in a negative way of Sesame Street and its effect on the disadvantaged were the general media critics, such as Ure Bronfenbrenner. Researchers, in the educators category, such as the staff at Educational Testing Service, were generally most supportive, as were the educators and teachers involved with the challenges of the handicapped.

English teachers seemed to be less accepting of changes from traditional educational settings to non-traditional, televised teaching. However, librarians and day-care staff saw Sesame Street as a positive contribution to their curricula.

Ethnic minorities, on the whole, were pleased with Sesame Street. However, allusions and secondary quotations indicate that at different periods of time, the Black community was concerned about its image and representation. Similar underlying feelings from the Hispanic community were indicated in scattered references, but never the theme of a journal article. That the Children's Television Workshop supported the Chicano Center's research, which was not always laudatory, indicates a response to criticism not evidenced in the periodical literature, nor in the Quarter Annual Reports.

Almost every category of audience applauded the impact Sesame Street has had on children's television programming. One of the complaints offered was that there were too few programs like it.

In all this analysis of the available periodic literature written about Sesame Street and Children's Television Workshop from 1968 through 1975, there was no claim by any writer that the writer's criticism had influenced the policy decisions of Children's Television Workshop. Some staff written research articles did make recommendations. But there is no claim that relates the criticism to the changes. Other than when he identified quotations, even Lesser did not refer to staff members. For example, he wrote:

> The creative staff of the Children's Television Workshop made several decisions during the planning period that contributed greatly to Sesame Street's success. . . . The creative staff already had achieved considerable understanding in the seminars by constantly pressing the educators there to define the suggested goals.[1]

He used common nouns when referring to the research staff and producers, as well.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 99.

The indices of the Quarter Annual Reports were then used to discover whether the converse held true. The following question was asked:

Articles or Critical Recognition in the Quarter Annual Reports

Q. What Authors Were Specifically Mentioned in Any of the Quarter Annual Reports, and If the Author Was Not Bylined, Was the Periodical in Which the Article Printed Cited?

Sixty-four, or 88%, of their staff who wrote seventy-three articles about Sesame Street had their names published in at least one Quarter Annual Report and, therefore, were in the Y category. Nine were in the N category; they were not mentioned.

Out of the one hundred fourteen articles not written by members of the Children's Television Workshop staff, Y mention in any Quarter Annual Report accounted for sixteen articles. N accounted for ninety-eight articles in the Quarter Annual Report.

As was previously stated, of the seventy-three articles by staff members, the authors of sixty-four, or 88%, were mentioned in one or more Quarter Annual Reports. Five authors--Lewis Bernstein, Robert Filep, Jack Miller, and D. Lynn McDonald, who wrote one report along with F. Leon Paulson, the primary author of two other reports--account for the nine articles of which the authors are not mentioned.

Vastly contrasted with the above figures, are those relating to the appearance in the Quarter Annual Reports of the names of authors who had written articles but who were not Children's Television Workshop staff. Only four of the one-hundred fourteen non-staff authors of articles were mentioned in the seven years covered by the Quarter Annual

Reports--only 3.5%! Robert Liebert, who was contracted to pursue independent research concerning Sesame Street was mentioned three times (Volumes XII, XVI, and XXIV.) Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and therefore categorized as a sponsor, was mentioned in Volume XVII in connection with his research studies. Lloyd Morrisett, President of John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, and thus also categorized as a sponsor, was mentioned in three Quarter Annual Reports, Volume III, XI, XVII. Robert Yin, whose job it was to report on the research done on Sesame Street for the Rand Corporation, was sponsored by the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation.

The United States Congress was mentioned in many of the Quarter Annual Reports, and three articles in the bibliography can be attributed to this sponsor.[1]

Action for Children's Television was mentioned in Volume XXIV. F. Earle Barcus, a representative of the pressure group had conducted research concerning parents' attitudes toward children's television programming on both the public broadcasting system and commercial television. Sesame Street emerged as having strong support from parents for many reasons, but more programs such as Sesame Street were seen as necessary, as well as a reshaping of current commercial practices aimed at children.[1]

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[1] These three citations are:

Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C., Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Education for the Handicapped, 1973--Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Handicapped of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate--Ninety-Third Congress, First Session, March 1973.

Kratochvil, Daniel W., Sesame Street: Developed by Children's Television, American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California (sponsoring agency--Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D. C., 1971.

Caspar W. Weinberger et al., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education: Fiscal Year 1974, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Some periodicals in which articles concerning Sesame Street had been published were cited in the Quarter Annual Reports. These were American Education, Ebony, the New York Times Magazine, Newsweek (which had published three articles), Time (which had also published three articles), and PTA Magazine.

Thus, although Children's Television Workshop maintained that it welcomed and used feedback from its audience, its means of accountability, the Quarter Annual Reports, do not substantiate that statement.

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[1] F. Earle Barcus, Concerned Parents Speak Out on Children's Television (Boston: Action for Children's Television, March 1973.)

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sesame Street has been the most successful, most widely received educational television program in history. In reaching out for its audience, it has cut across social, economic, and geographic boundaries. "Public broadcasting stations have never attracted large audiences."[1] Sesame Street's early audience was assessed at 3,500,000 to 4,000,000. . . . In addition, approximately fifty percent of the children in day-care and other prekindergarten centers in inner cities were also viewing. . . . Adding these to the children viewing at home, the size of Sesame Street's early audience seems remarkable."[2] The audience of Sesame Street continued to grow to between six and seven million children and adults. Edward L. Palmer, Director of Research for Children's Television Workshop, which produces Sesame Street, predicted that "Sesame Street" will be the most researched, tested and studied program in television history."[3] And this is rightly so, for most of the program's millions of dollars of operating expenses are derived from government funding. Collaterally, Children's Television Workshop organized itself with a systems approach operational model, so that the feedback loop is of utmost importance. Indeed, both President, Joan Ganz Cooney and Dr. Edward Palmer, have stated many times that they welcome and respond to criticism in the production of Sesame Street.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 203.

[2] Ibid., p. 204.

[3] Edward L. Palmer, "Can Television Really Teach?" American Education 5; 7 (August-September 1969).

The United States Office of Education requires formal accountability, and one of its primary vehicles of communication with Children's Television Workshop is the Quarter Annual Reports. Until this study, no research had focused upon defining the types of, and extent to which, feedback influence the programming of Sesame Street, as reflected in a primary source of communication, the Quarter Annual Reports, or in the responses and rebuttals to articles in magazines, professional journals, and other written communications. Also, no research had been published concerning any aspect of Quarter Annual Reports.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which critical feedback from the audiences of Sesame Street, evidenced in periodic literature, had influenced the programming policy-making decisions of Sesame Street from 1969 through 1975, as revealed in the official Quarter Annual Reports of Children's Television Workshop.

Direct and Indirect Criticism

This study recognized two levels of criticism--direct and indirect. Direct criticism encompassed telephone calls and letters directed to the Sesame Street producers or to Children's Television Workshop.

Indirect criticism was those remarks which appeared in articles about Sesame Street in newspapers, journals, books, etc. Those authors would expect the Sesame Street producers to be among their readers.

Children's Television Workshop receives much direct criticism in the forms of letters and telephone calls:

> The Workshop staff kept track of all these criticisms, partly from vanity and curiosity, partly in the hope that we could discover ways to improve Sesame Street. With some exceptions, the criticism was not illuminating.[1]

It was therefore decided to study the criticism that appeared in the periodic literature, the indirect criticism.

Children's Television Workshop subscribed to a clipping service, and there are countless newspaper articles about Sesame Street. However, these are not organized, so it was decided to limit the study to the indirect criticism that appeared in the periodic literature, from 1968 through 1975.

The methodology employed was content analysis, and this procedure is explained below.

Procedure in Analyzing the Quarter Annual Reports

Indexing the Quarter Annual Reports

Each of the twenty-four Quarter Annual Reports from 1969 through 1975 were separately indexed according to the University of Chicago's A Manual of Style. A subject listing and proper name listing was made. This indexing was essential for determining the frequency of the response to names of critics, critical articles, or sponsoring agencies of critical articles.

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 201.

Policy Changes Mentioned in the Quarter Annual Reports

At the same time that the indexing was being conducted, notes were taken when there was a stated change concerning programming. These changes were correlated with statements in the periodical literature.

Findings From the Analysis of the Quarter Annual Reports

It was found that the mechanics, organization and quality of the writing of the Quarter Annual Reports changed a great deal throughout the period studied. Problems relative to policy-making were not discussed.

No Quarter Annual Report cited outside criticism from audiences as being responsible for changes in programming or in goals. Two critics who were unfavorable towards Sesame Street were included in a bibliography about Sesame Street, however, indicating Children's Television Workshop's awareness of criticism.

Thus, the research indicated that, although the Quarter Annual Reports were a means of accountability, they are not the vehicles which indicate the responsiveness of Children's Television Workshop to criticism.

What the Quarter Annual Reports did exhibit was that there are two broad trends which led to changes in objectives evidenced in the writings by the Children's Television Workshop staff. One was the growing interest in affective objectives, and the other was in the growing sensitivity to the target audience as being pluralistic, as indicated by the developing interest in bilingual/bicultural education, the handicapped, the rural audience, etc.

However, it is difficult to ascertain whether this awareness was the result of feedback from sub-populations of audiences, or whether other forces, such as federal monies being made available for special programming, was the impetus. The handicapped can be used as an example.

For example, in Action for Children's Television News (Winter 1977), the following was stated.

> The Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, United States Office of Education, has awarded contracts to The American Institute for Research, Cambridge; WGBH, Boston; and WNVT in Virginia to produce three series of programs designed to foster the acceptance of handicapped children in public school environments. The programs will be targeted primarily for non-handicapped elementary school-age children, and will be supplemented by print materials developed for classroom use.[1]

Analysis of the Periodic Literature as a Source of Audience Criticism of Sesame Street

Bibliographic Compilation: A search of the periodic literature between 1968 and 1976 revealed a total of two hundred thirty-six articles about Children's Television Workshop or Sesame Street. This bibliography was separated into three lists: seventy-three articles were identified as being authored by members of the Children's Television Workshop staff and these articles comprise Appendix A; one hundred fourteen articles were written by non-staff members and comprise Appendix B; of the forty-nine articles listed in Appendix C, eighteen could not be located by December 15, 1977 for analysis and thirty-one were either outside the time frame of this study (published in 1976) or were from foreign countries so were without application to the audience in the United States.

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[1] Action for Children's Television News 6; 2 & 3 (Winter 1977): p. 12.

Analysis of the Staff and Non-Staff Articles (Appendices A & B)

The seventy-three staff and one hundred fourteen non-staff articles were recorded chronologically on charting paper. These charts were necessary for checking classifications. These charts also showed that more content categories were needed. As a result, each bibliographic citation was analyzed and categorized in the following nine ways: year of publication; staff affiliation of the writer (whether Children's Television Workshop staff or not); audience category of the writer; theme category; medium of publication; target reading audience; whether the article was initial or primary research, secondary research, or opinion; attitude of the author; and whether the author's name, or the magazine in which the article appeared if the article was not bylined, appeared in any Quarter Annual Report.

Results of the Analysis of the Periodic Literature

The results were presented by means of two tables which summarized the findings of the periodic literature. No articles emanated from children, and none of the one hundred eighty-seven articles had children as the target reading audience. No author represented the National Advisory Council, or any of the Special Interest Groups--homosexuals, women, the handicapped, Blacks, Spanish-speaking, or American Indians. By far the most popular theme in both the staff and non-staff articles was television as an educational force.

No Children's Television Workshop staff article appeared in what was considered a popular magazine. A higher percentage of staff articles were published in media other than periodicals.

Children's Television Workshop produced thirty-three Initial Research reports, or 45% of their articles, contrasted with the non-staff percentage of 27%, or thirty-one Initial Research reports. Children's Television Workshop should be commended on fulfilling its commitment to research. There is need for more independent evaluation through initial research.

The majority of general attitudes towards Sesame Street from both the staff and non-staff was positive.

Sixty-four, or 88%, of the staff authors were mentioned at least once in a Quarter Annual Report. However, only four non-staff authors were mentioned.

In conclusion, it was found that analyzing the Quarter Annual Reports did not point out whether, or to what degree, the staff of Children's Television Workshop responds to indirect criticism. The mechanical and organizational quality of the reports declined through time, causing this researcher to wonder at their significance and function for Children's Television Workshop or the United States Office of Education.

The periodic literature written by the staff of Children's Television Workshop rarely recognized critics by name and did not attribute policy changes to non-staff feedback or individual staff input.

Gerald Lesser said, "In addition to its own child-watching activities, the Workshop had commissioned some external research and other studies were being done by independent researchers around the country."[1] He implied that, along with the feedback received from Dr. Palmer's Research Division of Children's Television Workshop, feedback from research reports was also incorporated in policy-making .

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[1] Gerald S. Lesser, Children and Television, p. 201.

Recommendations for Future Research

As noted in the limitations, this study was restricted to the indirect criticism of Sesame Street, the criticism that appeared in periodic literature other than newspapers. Thus, this study did not examine the criticism in newspapers, nor did it study the criticisms in the direct communications of correspondence, nor the records of telephone communications to Children's Television Workshop about Sesame Street.

Future research might be directed to the study of the relationship between criticism in these modes of communication and policy decisions. For example, as previously mentioned, at the same time this study was examining the Quarter Annual Reports and the periodic literature, Ms. Miller was in the process of cataloguing the correspondence at Children's Television Workshop according to areas of protest. The Children's Television Workshop news clipping files would be another rich source for examining the nature of audience criticism and relating the trends of such decisions to policy development in relation to Sesame Street.

The present study has indexed the Quarter Annual Reports according to the subject listing and proper name listing procedures of the University of Chicago's A Manual of Style; and this indexing is made available in Appendix F to this study. The index opens the Quarter Annual Reports to a much easier initial exploration of topics, themes, subjects, and identity of persons and organizations; and the index should be of help to future researchers who wish to study specific influences or elements.

Similarly, Appendices A and B include the list of articles, seventy-three and one hundred fourteen, respectively, each analyzed and coded according to year of publication; staff affiliations of the writer (whether Children's Television Workshop staff or not); audience category of the writer; theme category; medium of publication; target reading audience; whether the article was initial or primary research, secondary research, or opinion; attitude of the author; and whether the author's name, or the magazine in which the article appeared, if it was not bylined, appeared in any Quarter Annual Report.

Another area for interesting research is the further study of the nature and purpose of Quarter Annual Reports in general. There is reason to believe from the present study that the official written record is not necessarily the full record of accountability and that much less formal communication is carried on concurrently between Children's Television Workshop and the United States Office of Education, probably by telephone or by visits. There is also reason to believe that the reports are in part a way of naming people and institutions--sponsors, project advisors, guests, etc.--and not of exposing unresolved issues and tensions that are the real climate for policy changes. Thus the whole purpose of the Quarter Annual reporting, its tendency to become tedious and repetitive and possibly less important across a long period of time, and the likelihood of parallel modes of communication to develop as supplements--these are aspects of accountability reporting that invite further research.

The notion of audience categories for identifying the sources of criticism has seemed to this researcher to be fruitful, even though in the present instance it did not reveal the relationship between criticism and a set of policy reporting that was anticipated. The idea of feedback is an essential part of the research organization of Children's Television Workshop's systems approach operational model. It does use feedback from its primary audience, the children, and it is responsive to criticism. The periodic literature is probably too delayed, as compared with the quickness of direct observation of children responding to a Sesame Street program, or the response from newspapers, or an excited viewer. Thus future research might use the audience categories developed in this present research to analyze the more direct levels of criticism.

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APPENDIX A

List of Seventy-three Books, Manuscripts, Dissertations, or Articles from the Periodical Literature Written by the Staff of Children's Television Workshop.

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APPENDIX B

List of One Hundred Fourteen Books, Book Reviews, Manuscripts, Dissertations, or Articles From the Periodical Literature Written by Critics Other Than the Staff of Children's Television Workshop.

Allen, William H. and Coombs, Don H., eds. Trends in Instructional Technology: The ERIC at Stanford 1970 Planning Report. California: Stanford University, ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Media and Technology, November 1970. 1970/-/B6/5a/T/B6/reR/+/N

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APPENDIX C

List of Forty-nine Books, Manuscripts, Dissertations, or Articles from the Periodical Literature Which Were Not Available by December 15, 1977, or Articles Published in Countries Other Than the United States of America, and, therefore, Not Relevant to the Current Research.

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Stewart, Barbara H. "Sesame Street: A Linguistic Detour for Black-Language Speakers." Black World 22 (August 1973): pp. 12-20.

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APPENDIX D

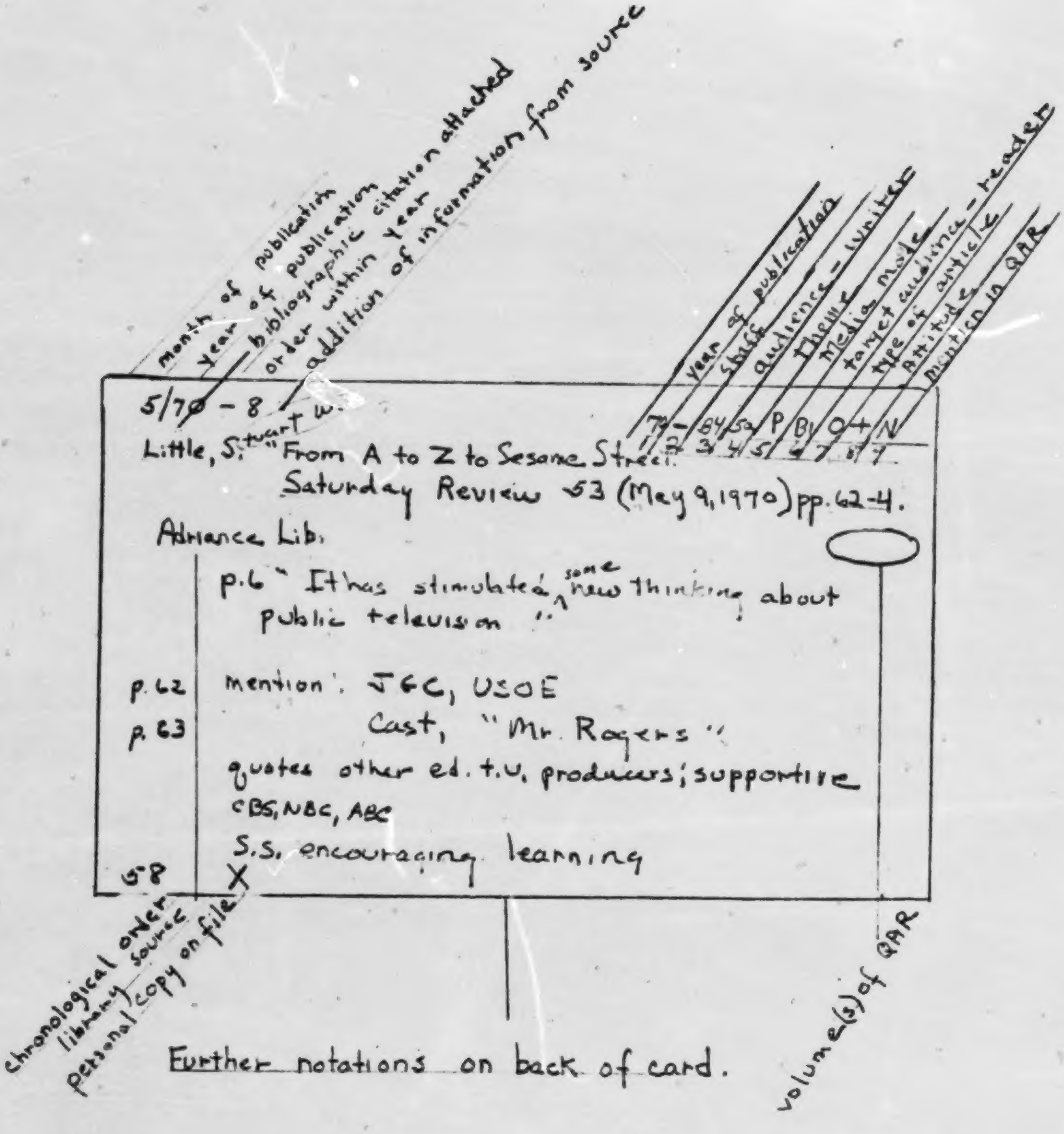
Examples of Index Card and Charts For Recording the Data From Articles

The index card shown here is a facsimile of the 5 X 8 inch index cards that were used for content analysis of every article in Appendix A and B.

The Non-Staff Article Tally Sheets were organized chronologically, and by year.

The Staff Article Tally Sheets are continuously chronological.

FACSIMILE OF INDEX CARD


month of publication
year of publication
bibliographic citation attached
order within year
addition of information from source
year of publication
staff
audience - writer
theme
media mode
target audience - reader
type of article
attitude
mention in QAR
chronological order
library source
personal copy on file
volume(s) of QAR

5/7Ø - 8

7Ø- 84 5a P B O + N

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Little, Stuart W. "From A to Z to Sesame Street."
Saturday Review 53 (May 9, 1970) pp. 62-4.

Adriance Lib.

p. 6 " It has stimulated some new thinking about public television ."

p. 62 mention: JGC, USOE

p. 63 Cast, "Mr. Rogers"

quotes other ed. t.v. producers; supportive

CBS, NBC, ABC

S.S. encouraging learning

5-8 X

Further notations on back of card.

NON-STAFF ARTICLE TALLY SHEET

			Categories												
Authors	Date	Title	Audience A	1	2	B	s	c	7	C	D	Writers E	F	Theme A	Notes
Little, Stuart W.	5/9 70	From A to Z to S.S.		✓			✓								±
Wylie, E.M.	5/ 70	At last: A T.V. Show Good for Ch.		✓	✓								✓		
Newsweek	6/1 70	T Vs Switch-On Scho													
Sedulus (pseu)	6/6 70	Sesame Street													–
(Replies)	6/27 70	Discussion													
Kliger, Samuel	9/ 70	Fog over Sesame St.				✓			✓						T.C. - learning theory
Boer, B. (Look)	9/22 70	Secrets of Sesame St.		✓	✓							✓			
Ball, Samuel	10 70	The First Yr. of S.S.							✓						change to CTW IR, ETS.
Ball, Samuel	10 70	" Final							✓						
Ball, Samuel	10 70	Evaluation							✓						–
BronFenBrenner, U.	10 70	Who Lives on S.S.													psychologist. mentioned in QAR
Ulrich, Roger E.	10 70	A behavioral View of S.S.													
Newsweek	11 16 70	Sesame At One		✓	✓				✓						pop. mag.
Time	11/16 70	Sesame St. Report Card							✓						"
Time	11 23 70	Who's Afraid of Big Bad T.V.		✓				✓				✓			.
Ruopp, Richard R.	11 70	A Study in Child Care				✓			✓	✓					IR, + OEO
Ruopp, Richard R.	11/ 70	" A Small Un		✓						✓		✓✓✓✓			"
Ruopp, Richard & O'Farrell, B.	11/ 70	" More than Just Baby-Sit.													

etc.

STAFF ARTICLE TALLY SHEET

Categories

Author	Date	Title	Audience				Writers		Themes	Notes
			A	1 3 B 5 6 7	C	D	E	F	A	
Cooney	67	Potential Uses of T.V.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		IR
C.T.W.	12/31 68	Statement of Instructional Goal.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		cognitive
Palmer, E.	68	Comparative Study of Current	✓							rational SR
Cooney + Gottlief	68	Television for Pre School	✓		✓					
Palmer, Ed	8/ 69	Can Television Realy Teach		✓						
Palmer		Research at the CT		✓ ✓						
C.T.W.	69	Sesame St. Research	✓				✓			
Lesser, G.	69	Design a Program	✓							instructional development
C.T.W.	1/27 70	Preliminary Data from	✓							IR
Cooney	3/ 70	Sesame Street	✓	✓ ✓						another overview
Palmer	4/ 70									IR
Filep	8/ 70	Survey of 2 Cities	✓				✓			IR
Miller + Skuarcius	10/ 70	Does SS teach?	✓							SR.
Paulson	12/9 70	"SS" Social Goals Project	✓							IR goals & affective
Reeves, Barbara	12/ 70	First Yr. of S.S.	✓							
Gibbon, S.	12/ 70	Pre-Reading on S.S.	✓							
Samuels, B.	12/ 70	First Yr. of S.S.	✓							descriptive, SR
Cooney	12/ 70	First Yr. of S.S.		✓						(out of area)

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XX	7/1/74-9/30/74
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XXIV	7/1/75-9/30/75
XXV	10/1/75-12/31/75

APPENDIX F

Indices by Name and Subject of the Children's Television Workshop Quarter Annual Reports to the United States Office of Education from 1969 through 1975.

(The number following the entry indicates the page reference in the Quarter Annual Report. The capital letter indicates the Appendix included with the Quarter Annual Report.)

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